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DECEMBER 2002

Seabiscuit's Author Bets Her Health

Archaeological Fiasco in Burma

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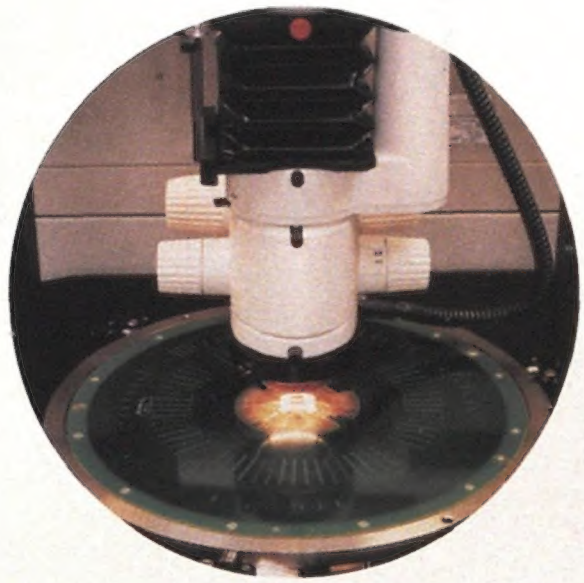

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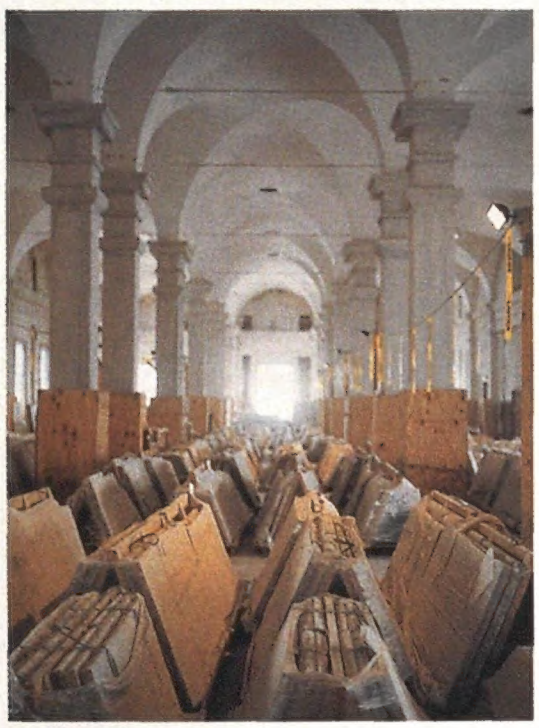

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From top: Marilyn Monroe displays her trademark gloves in 1955; *Moonbeams, Dumplings & Dragon Boats*, illustrated by Meilo So; marble floor tiles await restoration in the old Patent Office Building; paddlers pour it on in the concrete canoe race in Madison, Wisconsin.

GENE LESTER / HULTON ARCHIVE / GETTY IMAGES; MEILO SO; CAMERON DAVIDSON; LAYNE KENNEDY

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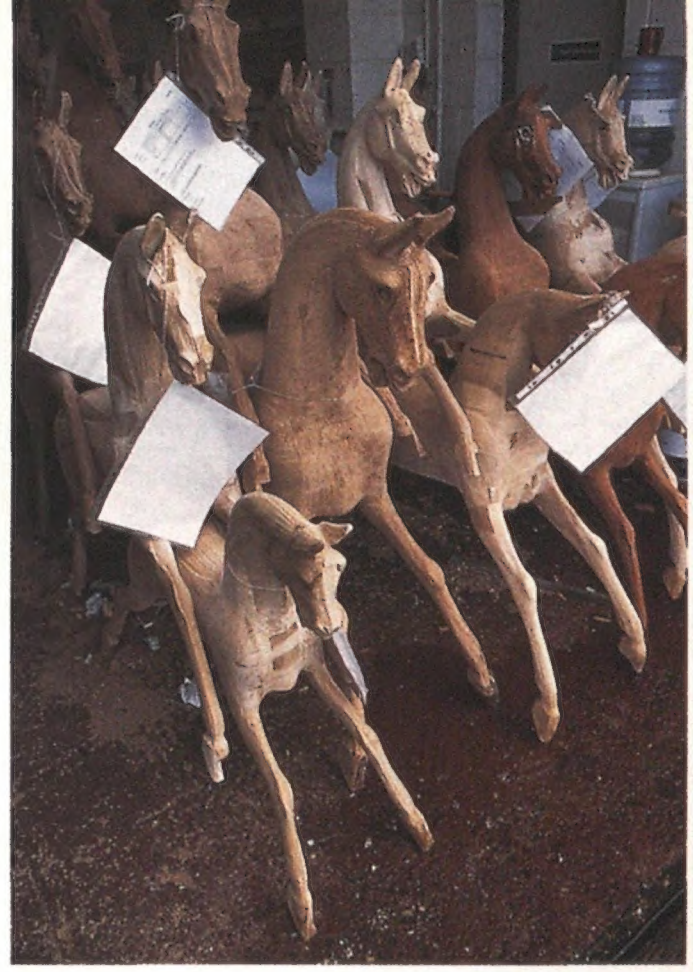

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From top: Rocking horses await their turn at the sander at the Steveson Brothers workshop; *Ja-ah-kis-saw* (1835) by George Catlin; guards sit in the courtyard of the Sultan of Zinder, Niger. **COVER: *Buffalo Bull's Back Fat*, by George Catlin, 1832, Smithsonian American Art Museum.**

PATRICK WARD; SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN ART MUSEUM; LORI GRINKER

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EDITOR'S INKWELL

Spooky

CLOSE ENCOUNTERS FROM BURMA TO PRE-CIVIL WAR MANHATTAN

BY CAREY WINFREY

MANY VISITORS TO BURMA (a.k.a. Myanmar) get the willies. The small Southeast Asian nation is a police state, after all, and fear is in the air. Cameron Davidson, who photographed our story about the desecration of Buddhist treasures in Burma's 1,000-year-old holy city of Pagan ("Sacred and Profaned," p. 80), got spooked when a Rangoon taxi driver and a companion riding shotgun drove Davidson on what seemed a hopelessly circuitous route through a congested marketplace. Fearing he was about to be mugged—the interior door handles had been removed—the photographer was taking off his belt to use as a weapon when the taxi finally pulled up at his hotel. Misguided cabbies notwithstanding, Davidson found the Burmese people to be especially gentle and kind: "They are really a delight to work with and be around."

Davidson: the taxi's door handles had been removed.

Richard Covington, who wrote the Pagan story, was interviewing *his* driver (of a horse-drawn cart) when two villagers approached on foot. The driver motioned to Covington to hide his tape recorder. Once the villagers had passed, the man explained that a BBC reporter had used another driver's name in a dispatch. "The police arrested the driver," Covington's chauffeur said. "He was in prison for a couple of months." Covington assured the man he would not use his name in his story (and didn't). "OK," the driver said. "I just have to pay for my son's education." Covington put the tape recorder away for the rest of the trip.

FERGUS BORDEWICH, who lives in New York, was the obvious person to write our article about the story behind director Martin Scorsese's new film, *Gangs of New York* ("Manhattan Mayhem," p. 44), which portrays turf wars between newly arrived Irish immigrants and so-called nativists (immigrants who got here earlier) in downtown Manhattan before the Civil War. After all, Bordewich's own great-grandfather, James Patrick Farrell, had arrived in New York from Cork, Ireland, about that time. He found himself turned away from job after job by signs saying, "No Irish Need Apply." Farrell fought in the Civil War, made a fortune importing Irish linens and woolens and built a mansion for his family in Brooklyn overlooking the harbor. "Writing this story," says Bordewich, "has left me with a richer sense of how daunting and how brutal was the world in which my great-grandfather lived—and prospered—a kind of miracle when so many others like him died trying." ○

DOUG KEEFFE

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FROM THE SECRETARY

QUIET CAN BE A BLESSING, but unnatural silence is something else again. In the storeroom of the National Museum of American History where we keep a portion of the Smithsonian's vast musical instruments collection, the stillness goes against the grain. Though all the objects in the room were made for noise and use, they've been tamed by the discipline of a museum. Trumpets, oboes, flutes and harmonicas lie like specimens in drawers, as bugs and birds do in other great collections of the Institution. Violins, guitars, banjos and fat horns sit in cabinets. Cellos in their cases rest against the walls. Not a sound from the lot, and yet the mind can't help but hear each one.

There are perhaps ten exceptional collections of musical instruments in Europe and the United States, and the Smithsonian's is among the very best of them. It comprises some 5,000 objects under the care of the Division of Cultural History in the American History Museum (not because the instruments are all American in character, but because the museum was originally a museum of history and technology) and a like number of instruments housed, because of their ethnographic character, in the National Museum of Natural History. The part of the collection we have the space to exhibit publicly at any one time can only hint at what's behind the scenes. A display of keyboard instruments in a gallery of the American History Museum, for example, includes one of three surviving harpsichords by the 18th-century master Benoist Stehlin; a piano of the smallish sort for which Beethoven wrote his first two piano concertos; the immense Steinway grand from 1903 that was number 100,000 manufactured by the company; and a contemporary Yamaha acoustic and digital piano of aluminum and Plexiglas, with a control panel that might have come from a recording studio. Each is a marvel, and we could multiply them by another gallery or two.

Some of the items in the Smithsonian's collection are astonishingly beautiful (stringed instruments by the Italian master Antonio Stradivari); some are barely functional (an impossibly heavy banjo made from a World War I German artillery shell, with bullet casings for tuning pegs); and many are wayward and fanciful (a peanut-shaped harmonica with a Jimmy Carter smile). Of course, human whimsy can run headfirst into a wall of natural selection: there was to be no future for a piano fitted with bells, drums and a bassoon stop, or a violin with what appears to be a gramophone horn attached (to amplify and direct the sound).

The greatest treasures of the collection are neither out of sight nor only for silent display. These are the stringed instruments by Stradivari (1644-1737), who could put the geometry of a barely discernible curve in wood to heavenly purpose. Stradivari never heard a string quartet—the format emerged after his death—which perhaps helps explain why he made hundreds of violins and so few violas (only 13 still exist) and cellos (63 exist). Of the estimated 1,100 instruments Stradivari made, only 11 survivors feature ornamentation, with black lacquer tracings and ivory inlays. Four of those—a quartet of such exquisite physical beauty that they qualify as sculpted art—are in our collection, the gift of retired publisher Dr. Herbert Axelrod. Dr. Axelrod's generosity has also brought us a superb set of instruments by Stradivari's teacher, Nicolò Amati. We're now renovating a gallery in the American History Museum in which all these rare and beautiful objects (and other prized examples of the luthier's art) will be on display in 2003.

Stradivari's geometry put to heavenly uses.

On display, that is, when they're not at work. For the instruments are never shown to greater advantage, or kept in better health, than when they're played. Former Smithsonian Secretary S. Dillon Ripley laid down the law about that: "Let the instruments sing!" On recordings and in the many chamber concerts sponsored by our music programs, the most spectacular of the instruments do just that. And when they sing, as they have for centuries, time is erased, differences are eased, and there is harmony across the ages. ○

LAWRENCE M. SMALL, SECRETARY

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Readers respond to the October issue.

ALIEN INVASION

IN "SUPERGERM WARFARE," the authors describe how Dr. Michael Zasloff released African clawed frogs (*Xenopus laevis*), which he had used for research, into a stream near his laboratory at the National Institutes of Health in Maryland. As a biologist who works with lab animals, I am appalled by this unethical action, which risks ecological catastrophe. *Xenopus* is an alien species that has become established in the United States in areas where it has been released. Known to disrupt food webs by preying on a wide range of fauna, including endangered fish, it could drive out native competitors.

Michael J. Blum, PhD
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dr. Zasloff replies: The frogs that were released at the NIH campus had had their ovaries surgically removed. It seemed wrong to kill these creatures simply because I no longer had any use for them. Because they could not reproduce and proliferate within the ecosystem, I felt these animals should be given their freedom.

HISTORIC HOMER

THANK YOU FOR THE beautiful George Silk photograph of Forbes Field in 1960, where Bill Mazeroski hit his World Series-winning home run. The caption, however, struck out. It refers to "the shot heard . . . round the world." Although Mazeroski's belt over the fence was spectacular, for avid baseball fans there is only one "shot heard round the world": Bobby Thomson's pennant-winning dinger for the New York Giants in 1951.

Ted Hunter
Seattle, Washington

ALARMING MISSION

MAX FRANKEL'S ARTICLE "Learning from the Missile Crisis" brought me back to October 1962. At that time, I was stationed at Dow Air Force Base in Bangor, Maine, as an electronic warfare officer on a B-52 crew. We received orders to fly a mission and took off with ten 1.1 megaton hydrogen bombs. Our crew soon learned that every flyable B-52 and B-47 was fully armed, and we were all headed for Russia. At the border we entered an orbit pattern and watched Soviet fighters come and go on the other side. Twice we went to Spain for aerial refueling. The U.S. Air Force Strategic Air Command had enough bombs at the Soviet border to obliterate the nation. It was the one time I believed the B-52s were going to drop weapons in anger.

George R. Becker, Maj. USAF, Retired
Johnson City, Tennessee

FRANKEL'S ARTICLE didn't mention that U.S. ballistic weapons systems like those in Turkey were deployed in southern Italy during the same time period. I was a civilian employed under a NATO contract when the order to remove our missiles in Italy was carried out early in 1963 as part of Kennedy's secret deal with Khrushchev.

Jack Lintelmann
Buhl, Idaho

MISLEADING ASSERTION

IN THE OTHERWISE fine account of the research on the walkingstick by Cristina Sandoval and her colleagues ("Net Gains"), it is misleading to say the work is "big news" to biologists because they have "long believed that two groups from one species would have to be separated by vast barriers of geography and time" before they evolved into separate species. For years, plant geneticists have had evidence of such sympatric speciation, in which a species splits into two without a geographical barrier. The big story with Sandoval's study is that she has been able to observe the speciation process while it is occurring. That, too, was previously observed in plants, by Leslie Gottlieb's work in the 1970s on *Stephanomeria malheurensis* (a member of the aster family).

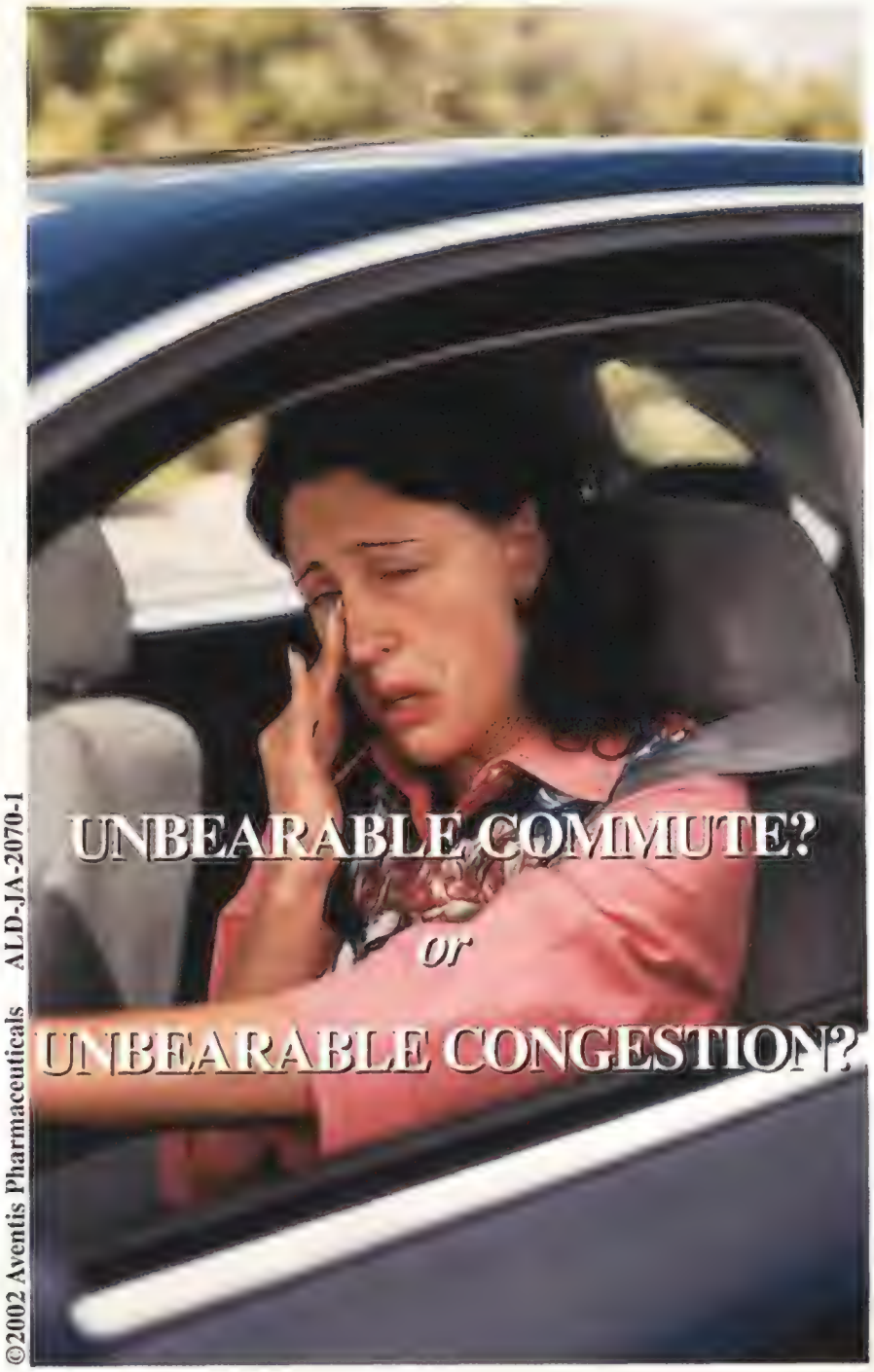
David A. Jones, DPhil
University of Florida, Gainesville

TRAGIC POSTSCRIPT

I WAS EXCITED by the article on the Trappist monks in Iowa who make caskets ("Making Ends Meet") because I come from the state and my 19-year-old son, Jeremy, loved woodworking. I intended to share the article with him, but two days after I read it, he died from injuries sustained in a car accident. I chose a Trappist casket for him. It was beautiful and appropriate.

Anne S. Abbo
Topeka, Kansas

Send letters for this column to LettersEd@simag.si.edu or to **Letters Editor, SMITHSONIAN, MRC 951, P.O. Box 37012, Washington, D.C. 20013-7012.** Please include your telephone number and address. Letters may be edited for clarity and length. Queries and comments about the Smithsonian Institution should be sent to info@si.edu or to VIARC, Public Inquiry Mail Service, P.O. Box 37012, Washington, D.C. 20013-7012.



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Side effects with Allegra-D were similar to Allegra alone and may include headache, insomnia, and nausea. Due to the decongestant (pseudoephedrine) component in Allegra-D, this product must not be used if you: are taking an MAO inhibitor (a medication for depression) or have stopped taking an MAO inhibitor within 14 days; retain urine; have narrow-angle glaucoma; have severe high blood pressure or severe heart disease. You should also tell your doctor if you have high blood pressure, diabetes, heart disease, glaucoma, thyroid disease, impaired kidney function, or symptoms of an enlarged prostate such as difficulty urinating. Allegra-D is for people twelve and older.

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allegra-D®
fexofenadine HCl 60 mg/pseudoephedrine HCl 120 mg
Extended-Release Tablets

Please see additional important information on next page.

Brief Summary of
Prescribing Information as of November 2000

ALLEGRA-D®

(fexofenadine HCl 60 mg and pseudoephedrine HCl 120 mg)

Extended-Release Tablets

INDICATIONS AND USAGE

ALLEGRA-D is indicated for the relief of symptoms associated with seasonal allergic rhinitis in adults and children 12 years of age and older. Symptoms treated effectively include sneezing, rhinorrhea, itchy nose/palate/ and/or throat, itchy/watery/red eyes, and nasal congestion.

ALLEGRA-D should be administered when both the antihistaminic properties of fexofenadine hydrochloride and the nasal decongestant properties of pseudoephedrine hydrochloride are desired (see CLINICAL PHARMACOLOGY).

CONTRAINDICATIONS

ALLEGRA-D is contraindicated in patients with known hypersensitivity to any of its ingredients.

Due to its pseudoephedrine component, ALLEGRA-D is contraindicated in patients with narrow-angle glaucoma or urinary retention, and in patients receiving monoamine oxidase (MAO) inhibitor therapy or within fourteen (14) days of stopping such treatment (see Drug Interactions section). It is also contraindicated in patients with severe hypertension, or severe coronary artery disease, and in those who have shown hypersensitivity or idiosyncrasy to its components, to adrenergic agents, or to other drugs of similar chemical structures. Manifestations of patient idiosyncrasy to adrenergic agents include: insomnia, dizziness, weakness, tremor, or arrhythmias.

WARNINGS

Sympathomimetic amines should be used judiciously and sparingly in patients with hypertension, diabetes mellitus, ischemic heart disease, increased intraocular pressure, hyperthyroidism, renal impairment, or prostatic hypertrophy (see CONTRAINDICATIONS).Sympathomimetic amines may produce central nervous system stimulation with convulsions or cardiovascular collapse with accompanying hypotension.

PRECAUTIONS

General

Due to its pseudoephedrine component, ALLEGRA-D should be used with caution in patients with hypertension, diabetes mellitus, ischemic heart disease, increased intraocular pressure, hyperthyroidism, renal impairment, or prostatic hypertrophy (see WARNINGS and CONTRAINDICATIONS). Patients with decreased renal function should be given a lower initial dose (one tablet per day) because they have reduced elimination of fexofenadine and pseudoephedrine (See CLINICAL PHARMACOLOGY and DOSAGE AND ADMINISTRATION).

Information for Patients

Patients taking ALLEGRA-D tablets should receive the following information: ALLEGRA-D tablets are prescribed for the relief of symptoms of seasonal allergic rhinitis. Patients should be instructed to take ALLEGRA-D tablets only as prescribed. **Do not exceed the recommended dose.** If nervousness, dizziness, or sleeplessness occur, discontinue use and consult the doctor. Patients should also be advised against the concurrent use of ALLEGRA-D tablets with over-the-counter antihistamines and decongestants.

The product should not be used by patients who are hypersensitive to it or to any of its ingredients. Due to its pseudoephedrine component, this product should not be used by patients with narrow-angle glaucoma, urinary retention, or by patients receiving a monoamine oxidase (MAO) inhibitor or within 14 days of stopping use of MAO inhibitor. It also should not be used by patients with severe hypertension or severe coronary artery disease.

Patients should be told that this product should be used in pregnancy or lactation only if the potential benefit justifies the potential risk to the fetus or nursing infant. Patients should be cautioned not to break or chew the tablet. Patients should be directed to swallow the tablet whole. Patients should be instructed not to take the tablet with food. Patients should also be instructed to store the medication in a tightly closed container in a cool, dry place, away from children.

Drug Interactions

Fexofenadine hydrochloride and pseudoephedrine hydrochloride do not influence the pharmacokinetics of each other when administered concomitantly.

Fexofenadine has been shown to exhibit minimal (ca. 5%) metabolism. However, co-administration of fexofenadine with ketoconazole and erythromycin led to increased plasma levels of fexofenadine. Fexofenadine had no effect on the pharmacokinetics of erythromycin and ketoconazole. In two separate studies, fexofenadine HCl 120 mg BID (twice the recommended dose) was co-administered with erythromycin 500 mg every 8 hours or ketoconazole 400 mg once daily under steady-state conditions to normal, healthy volunteers (n=24, each study). No differences in adverse events or QT_c interval were observed when subjects were administered fexofenadine HCl alone or in combination with erythromycin or ketoconazole. The findings of these studies are summarized in the following table:

Effects on Steady-State Fexofenadine Pharmacokinetics After 7 Days of Co-Administration with Fexofenadine Hydrochloride 120 mg Every 12 Hours (twice recommended dose) in Normal Volunteers (n=24)

Concomitant Drug	$C_{max\ ss}$ *(Peak plasma concentration)*	$AUC_{ss\ 0-12h}$ *(Extent of systemic exposure)*
Erythromycin (500 mg every 8 hrs)	+82%	+109%
Ketoconazole (400 mg once daily)	+135%	+164%

The changes in plasma levels were within the range of plasma levels achieved in adequate and well-controlled clinical trials.

The mechanism of these interactions has been evaluated in *in vitro*, *in situ* and *in vivo* animal models. These studies indicate that ketoconazole or erythromycin co-administration enhances fexofenadine gastrointestinal absorption. In vivo animal studies also suggest that in addition to enhancing absorption, ketoconazole decreases fexofenadine gastrointestinal secretion, while erythromycin may also decrease biliary excretion.

ALLEGRA-D tablets (pseudoephedrine component) are contraindicated in patients taking monoamine oxidase inhibitors and for 14 days after stopping use of an MAO inhibitor. Concomitant use with antihypertensive drugs which interfere with sympathetic activity (eg, methyldopa, mecamylamine, and reserpine) may reduce their antihypertensive effects. Increased ectopic pacemaker activity can occur when pseudoephedrine is used concomitantly with digitalis.

Care should be taken in the administration of ALLEGRA-D concomitantly with other sympathomimetic amines because combined effects on the cardiovascular system may be harmful to the patient (see WARNINGS).

Carcinogenesis, Mutagenesis, Impairment of Fertility

There are no animal or *in vitro* studies on the combination product fexofenadine hydrochloride and pseudoephedrine hydrochloride to evaluate carcinogenesis, mutagenesis, or impairment of fertility.

The carcinogenic potential and reproductive toxicity of fexofenadine hydrochloride were assessed using terfenadine studies with adequate fexofenadine exposure (area-under-the plasma concentration versus time curve [AUC]). No evidence of carcinogenicity was observed when mice and rats were given daily oral doses up to 150 mg/kg of terfenadine for 18 and 24 months, respectively. In both species, 150 mg/kg of terfenadine produced AUC values of fexofenadine that were approximately 3 times the human AUC at the maximum recommended daily oral dose in adults.

Two-year feeding studies in rats and mice conducted under the auspices of the National Toxicology Program (NTP) demonstrated no evidence of carcinogenic potential with ephedrine sulfate, a structurally related drug with pharmacological properties similar to pseudoephedrine, at doses up to 10 and 27 mg/kg, respectively (approximately 1/3 and 1/2, respectively, the maximum recommended daily oral dose of pseudoephedrine hydrochloride in adults on a mg/m^2 basis).

In *in vitro* (Bacterial Reverse Mutation, CHO/HGPRT Forward Mutation, and Rat Lymphocyte Chromosomal Aberration assays) and *in vivo* (Mouse Bone Marrow Micronucleus assay) tests, fexofenadine hydrochloride revealed no evidence of mutagenicity.

Reproduction and fertility studies with terfenadine in rats produced no effect on male or female fertility at oral doses up to 300 mg/kg/day. However, reduced implants and post implantation losses were reported at 300 mg/kg. A reduction in implants was also observed at an oral dose of 150 mg/kg/day. Oral doses of 150 and 300 mg/kg of terfenadine produced AUC values of fexofenadine that were approximately 3 and 4 times, respectively, the human AUC at the maximum recommended daily oral dose in adults.

Pregnancy

Teratogenic Effects: Category C. Terfenadine alone was not teratogenic in rats and rabbits at oral doses up to 300 mg/kg; 300 mg/kg of terfenadine produced fexofenadine AUC values that were approximately 4 and 30 times, respectively, the human AUC at the maximum recommended daily oral dose in adults.

The combination of terfenadine and pseudoephedrine hydrochloride in a ratio of 1:2 by weight was studied in rats and rabbits. In rats, an oral combination dose of 150/300 mg/kg produced reduced fetal weight and delayed ossification with a finding of wavy ribs. The dose of 150 mg/kg of terfenadine in rats produced an AUC value of fexofenadine that was approximately 3 times the human AUC at the maximum recommended daily oral dose in adults. The dose of 300 mg/kg of pseudoephedrine hydrochloride in rats was approximately 10 times the maximum recommended daily oral dose in adults on a mg/m^2 basis. In rabbits, an oral combination dose of 100/200 mg/kg produced decreased fetal weight. By extrapolation, the AUC of fexofenadine for 100 mg/kg orally of terfenadine was approximately 10 times the human AUC at the maximum recommended daily oral dose in adults. The dose of 200 mg/kg of pseudoephedrine hydrochloride was approximately 15 times the maximum recommended daily oral dose in adults on a mg/m^2 basis.

There are no adequate and well-controlled studies in pregnant women. ALLEGRA-D *should be used during* pregnancy only if the potential benefit justifies the potential risk to the fetus.

Nonteratogenic Effects. Dose-related decreases in pup weight gain and survival were observed in rats exposed to an oral dose of 150 mg/kg of terfenadine; this dose produced an AUC of fexofenadine that was approximately 3 times the human AUC at the maximum recommended daily oral dose in adults.

Nursing Mothers

It is not known if fexofenadine is excreted in human milk. Because many drugs are excreted in human milk, caution should be used when fexofenadine hydrochloride is administered to a nursing woman. Pseudoephedrine hydrochloride administered alone distributes into breast milk of lactating human females. Pseudoephedrine concentrations in milk are consistently higher than those in plasma. The total amount of drug in milk as judged by AUC is 2 to 3 times greater than the plasma AUC. The fraction of a pseudoephedrine dose excreted in milk is estimated to be 0.4% to 0.7%. A decision should be made whether to discontinue nursing or to discontinue the drug, taking into account the importance of the drug to the mother. Caution should be exercised when ALLEGRA-D is administered to nursing women.

Pediatric Use

Safety and effectiveness of ALLEGRA-D in pediatric patients under the age of 12 years have not been established.

Geriatric Use

Clinical studies of ALLEGRA-D did not include sufficient numbers of patients aged 65 and older to determine whether they respond differently from younger patients. Other reported clinical experience has not identified differences in responses between the elderly and younger patients, although the elderly are more likely to have adverse reactions to sympathomimetic amines. In general, dose selection for an elderly patient should be cautious, usually starting at the low end of the dosing range, reflecting the greater frequency of decreased hepatic, renal, or cardiac function, and of concomitant disease or other drug therapy.

The pseudoephedrine component of ALLEGRA-D is known to be substantially excreted by the kidney, and the risk of toxic reactions to this drug may be greater in patients with impaired renal function. Because elderly patients are more likely to have decreased renal function, care should be taken in dose selection, and it may be useful to monitor renal function.

ADVERSE REACTIONS

ALLEGRA-D

In one clinical trial (n=651) in which 215 patients with seasonal allergic rhinitis received the 60 mg fexofenadine hydrochloride/120 mg pseudoephedrine hydrochloride combination tablet twice daily for up to 2 weeks, adverse events were similar to those reported either in patients receiving fexofenadine hydrochloride 60 mg alone (n=218 patients) or in patients receiving pseudoephedrine hydrochloride 120 mg alone (n=218). A placebo group was not included in this study.

The percent of patients who withdrew prematurely because of adverse events was 3.7% for the fexofenadine hydrochloride/pseudoephedrine hydrochloride combination group, 0.5% for the fexofenadine hydrochloride group, and 4.1% for the pseudoephedrine hydrochloride group. All adverse events that were reported by greater than 1% of patients who received the recommended daily dose of the fexofenadine hydrochloride/pseudoephedrine hydrochloride combination are listed in the following table.

Adverse Experiences Reported in One Active-Controlled Seasonal Allergic Rhinitis Clinical Trial at Rates of Greater than 1%

Adverse Experience	60 mg Fexofenadine Hydrochloride/120 mg Pseudoephedrine Hydrochloride Combination Tablet Twice Daily (n=215)	Fexofenadine Hydrochloride 60 mg Twice Daily (n=218)	Pseudoephedrine Hydrochloride 120 mg Twice Daily (n=218)
Headache	13.0%	11.5%	17.4%
Insomnia	12.6%	3.2%	13.3%
Nausea	7.4%	0.5%	5.0%
Dry Mouth	2.8%	0.5%	5.5%
Dyspepsia	2.8%	0.5%	0.9%
Throat Irritation	2.3%	1.8%	0.5%
Dizziness	1.9%	0.0%	3.2%
Agitation	1.9%	0.0%	1.4%
Back Pain	1.9%	0.5%	0.5%
Palpitation	1.9%	0.0%	0.9%
Nervousness	1.4%	0.5%	1.8%
Anxiety	1.4%	0.0%	1.4%
Upper Respiratory Infection	1.4%	0.9%	0.9%
Abdominal Pain	1.4%	0.5%	0.5%

Many of the adverse events occurring in the fexofenadine hydrochloride/pseudoephedrine hydrochloride combination group were adverse events also reported predominately in the pseudoephedrine hydrochloride group, such as insomnia, headache, nausea, dry mouth, dizziness, agitation, nervousness, anxiety, and palpitation.

Fexofenadine Hydrochloride

In placebo-controlled clinical trials, which included 2461 patients receiving fexofenadine hydrochloride at doses of 20 mg to 240 mg twice daily, adverse events were similar in fexofenadine hydrochloride and placebo-treated patients. The incidence of adverse events, including drowsiness, was not dose related and was similar across subgroups defined by age, gender, and race. The percent of patients who withdrew prematurely because of adverse events was 2.2% with fexofenadine hydrochloride vs 3.3% with placebo.

Events that have been reported during controlled clinical trials involving seasonal allergic rhinitis and chronic idiopathic urticaria patients with incidences less than 1% and similar to placebo and have been rarely reported during postmarketing surveillance include: insomnia, nervousness, and sleep disorders or paroniria. In rare cases, rash, urticaria, pruritus and hypersensitivity reactions with manifestations such as angioedema, chest tightness, dyspnea, flushing and systemic anaphylaxis have been reported.

Pseudoephedrine Hydrochloride

Pseudoephedrine hydrochloride may cause mild CNS stimulation in hypersensitive patients. Nervousness, excitability, restlessness, dizziness, weakness, or insomnia may occur. Headache, drowsiness, tachycardia, palpitation, pressor activity, and cardiac arrhythmias have been reported. Sympathomimetic drugs have also been associated with other untoward effects such as fear, anxiety, tenseness, tremor, hallucinations, seizures, pallor, respiratory difficulty, dysuria, and cardiovascular collapse.

Prescribing Information as of November 2000

Aventis Pharmaceuticals Inc.
Kansas City, MO 64137 USA

US Patents 4,254,129; 5,375,693; 5,578,610.

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FIVE HOURS AFTER blasting off from the Kennedy Space Center in Florida on December 7, 1972, *Apollo 17* was about 25,000 miles from Earth when an astronaut aimed a Hasselblad camera out a window and made this photograph—*The Blue Marble*, NASA's most requested picture. It has been reproduced countless times, in books and magazines, on posters, Web sites and T-shirts. NASA archivist Mike Gentry plausibly speculates it is the most widely disseminated image in history.

Unlike *Earthrise*, the seminal photograph of a partial Earth with the Moon in the foreground taken by *Apollo 8* in 1968, *Marble* shows the planet in all its spherical glory, thanks to a flight plan that directed *Apollo 17* over the Southern Hemisphere at midday at the peak of the southern summer. No wonder the ecology movement seized upon it to convey the message that Earth is a last-chance habitat in the blackness of space. Arthur C. Clarke, the British-born sci-fi visionary and author of *2001: A Space Odyssey*, says from Sri Lanka that the image was the "first clear picture of the full Earth that most people ever saw, and at the time they were beginning to be concerned about environmental problems." Sir Arthur, 84, knows the photograph well: it hangs above his desk.

NASA officially credits the photograph to the entire *Apollo 17* crew: commander Eugene Cernan, 78, who is a consultant in Houston after leaving the agency and running an aeronautics firm; command module pilot Ronald Evans, who died in 1990; and lunar module pilot Harrison "Jack" Schmitt, 67, who in 1976 was elected to one term as a U.S. Senator from New Mexico and is a consultant in Albuquerque. *Apollo 17* was man's last trip to the Moon, and it seems ironic the most striking memento of that voyage 30 years ago this month is *The Blue Marble*. "It's because we're earthlings," says Schmitt, who recalls that *he* took the photograph. "Even the first generation to settle on the Moon will think of the Earth as home." —*Terence Monmaney*

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THE OBJECT AT HAND

Just the Right Touch

BY INTRODUCING A NOTE OF MODESTY, MARILYN MONROE'S GLOVES ACTUALLY HEIGHTENED HER COME-HITHER ALLURE

BY DAVID H. SHAYT

"DIAMONDS ARE A GIRL'S BEST FRIEND," Marilyn Monroe asserted in 1953's *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*. The screen siren might have added that another, less dazzling accessory also held a place in her affections—a pair of gloves, usually opera-length, worn seductively scrunched at the elbow. Whether dancing the night away at the Cocoanut Grove nightclub or attending an opening for one of her 30 films, Monroe was often spotted wearing this ladylike accoutrement. Suggestive contradiction was the name of the game: Monroe's gloves, invoking a coquettish nod to modesty, were belied by the plunging neckline.

Now, 40 years after her death at age 36, one pair of the actress's gloves, a recent bequest from an anonymous donor, add spice to the holdings of the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History (NMAH). "Decades before stars would not make a public move without the services of platoons of stylists and designers, Marilyn was a truly great stylist," writes Meredith Etherington-Smith, director of Christie's International, the London-based auction house, in *The Personal Property of Marilyn Monroe*. The gloves, she notes, constituted an important element of the Monroe look. "She had many pairs of immaculate beige kid[skin] evening gloves, and she always wore dramatic and beautifully made rhinestone earrings which cascaded in flashing rivers of light.... All this was carefully contrived to increase the effect of her uniquely luminous quality."

The pair ceded to the NMAH Entertainment Collection are evocative emblems of Monroe's carefully orchestrated image. Exquisitely stitched in soft white kidskin, the elbow-length gloves bear a faintly detectable blue stain, most likely ink, lightly smudged on the outside of a cuff.

This tantalizing imperfection bespeaks a lost history. Whence the stain? Did Monroe perhaps sign an autograph for an adoring fan wearing these gloves? Scribble observations on a program note? Jot down her phone number for an admirer, even a future husband? Joe DiMaggio? Arthur Miller?

While the story of the intriguing smudge is con-

Monroe (in 1956, soon after she wed playwright Arthur Miller) wowed photographers at a press conference.

TOM WOLFF; BETTMANN / CORBIS

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As America's glamour queen, the actress (in 1955) reigned supreme. Her "great invention," wrote biographer Maurice Zolotow, "was the playing of a frankly sexual woman who was not evil."

BETTMANN / CORBIS

signed to oblivion, there is little doubt the gloves possess symbolic significance as well. They function, says costume historian Shelly Foote of the Smithsonian's Division of Social History, as a talisman of a vanished era: "Marilyn Monroe and Jackie Kennedy were among the last prominent glove wearers. In the '50s, high school girls at proms or debutante balls would not be caught dead without gloves on. But after the mid-1960s, they would not be caught dead wearing them." (The former first lady might well have taken exception to this linkage to the woman who so seductively crooned "Happy Birthday, Mr. President" to JFK—with whom several biographers allege she had an affair—on the occasion of his 45th birthday, in May 1962, at Madison Square Garden.)

These days, Monroe mementos of any kind are among the hottest Hollywood collectibles around. When Christie's sold off a raft of Monroe's belongings in New York in 1999, prices exceeded even the wildest expectations. Hundreds of glitzy possessions, everything from necklaces and cocktail dresses to cigarette lighters, were snatched up in a bidding frenzy that grossed some $13.4 million. The flesh-colored Jean Louis sheath, hand-stitched and ornamented with 6,000 beads, worn by Monroe for that presidential birthday

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fete, went for $1.3 million. (Afterward, the bidder who snared the prize, entrepreneur Robert Schagrin, claimed he was prepared to go to "at least $3 million" for the dress.) As for her gloves, one lot of three pairs fetched $6,900.

The Monroe memorabilia also offer an intriguing, and touching, glimpse of a woman who was more vulnerable and more complex than her besotted public perceived at the time. She was a perfection-obsessed professional who sometimes rewrote her own lines, as her notated scripts attest. She was also an omnivorous reader whose personal library contained the works of authors such as Joseph Conrad and Graham Greene. As an actress, Monroe founded her own production company, a bold act of self-assertion in a Hollywood that was indisputably a male preserve.

The provenance of Monroe's gloves reflects, too, a profound shift in an unexpected arena—industrial America. During the 1950s, most clothing worn in this country was still manufactured on home soil. And most leather gloves were stitched in one corner of upstate New York, near Albany. For some 200 years, from the 1780s to the 1980s, a great deal of America's leather hand wear originated in a little town christened, appropriately enough, Gloversville.

The town was also home to a young glove cutter who would, several decades before Monroe transformed herself into a Hollywood legend, take over tinseltown. In 1925, Samuel Goldfish, a 43-year-old Polish immigrant who had started out sweeping up leather scraps in a Gloversville workshop, decided to seek his fortune in California. Following a move to Los Angeles, he changed his name to Goldwyn and began a meteoric rise within the ranks of the fledgling film industry, ultimately forming partnerships that would evolve into Paramount, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and United Artists.

As for Monroe, the tension between style and substance, between glamorous facade and private anguish, increasingly shadowed her days, until she was found dead, a likely suicide, of a barbiturates overdose at her home in Hollywood on August 5, 1962. The seductive image, conjured out of the pearls and silk sheaths, the fur stoles and spiked heels—seems somehow summed up by the pair of gloves, an artifact at once elegant and forlorn of a tragic trajectory. "She could have made it," her ex-husband, Arthur Miller once said, "with a little luck." ○

David H. Shayt, who writes frequently on American popular culture, is a historian at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.

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PHENOMENA & CURIOSITIES

Caught in the Act

CAMERA TRAPS IN REMOTE SPOTS DOCUMENT RARE OR "NONEXISTENT" ANIMALS, HELPING CONSERVE WILDLANDS

BY TOM DUNKEL

JIM SANDERSON REACHES into a cargo trunk in the hall outside his office and holds up what looks like a tiny bottle of perfume. "This seems to work the best," he says. The glass vial contains concentrated bobcat lure, made from anal gland secretions that the animal uses to mark its territory. The odor (not Chanel No. 5, to be sure) appeals to all kinds of animals, from anteaters to jaguars and wild pigs to crocodiles. Hunters love bobcat lure—and so does Sanderson, who also uses it to bag prey, though he never fires a shot.

A staff biologist at Conservation International in Washington, D.C., Sanderson, 53, is a leading practitioner of "camera trapping," capturing wild animals on film in some of the world's most remote and ecologically sensitive places. His approach is decidedly low tech: a 35-millimeter camera rigged with a heat and motion detector and shockproof plastic housing fastened with a bungee cord to a tree in some far-flung jungle or grassland. A bit of bobcat lure sprinkled on the ground in front of the lens baits the trap. He teaches a few local biologists and students to change the film and the camera batteries every ten weeks or so and to send him the exposed film as well as relocate the cameras. He has 150 cameras snapping away in ten countries, including India, Tanzania, Ivory Coast, Guatemala and Peru. The conservation group plans to install another 1,000 cameras in 50 more locations over the next four years. Sanderson was scheduled in November to work in Borneo, where among other things, he hopes to "capture" the bay cat, which has reportedly been seen in the wild fewer than ten times.

Sanderson's camera traps in Cambodia's Cardamom Mountains aided conservation efforts and captured (clockwise, from top right) a hog badger; a wild pig; a formerly "extinct" Siamese crocodile; an Asiatic golden cat; a deerlike red muntjac; and a silver pheasant.

One recent afternoon, he sat down at his desktop computer and zipped through digitized photographs from one of his cameras in Cambodia's Cardamom Mountains. "There's a serow," he says, pointing to what looks like a cross between a goat and a sheep. "There's a leopard cat . . . Here's something called a 'crab-eating mongoose' . . . There's a guy walking with an AK-47 over his shoulder." Poachers. They appear frequently in Sanderson's file of wildlife shots labeled "humans."

JIM SANDERSON / CENTER FOR APPLIED BIODIVERSITY SCIENCE, CONSERVATION INTERNATIONAL (6)

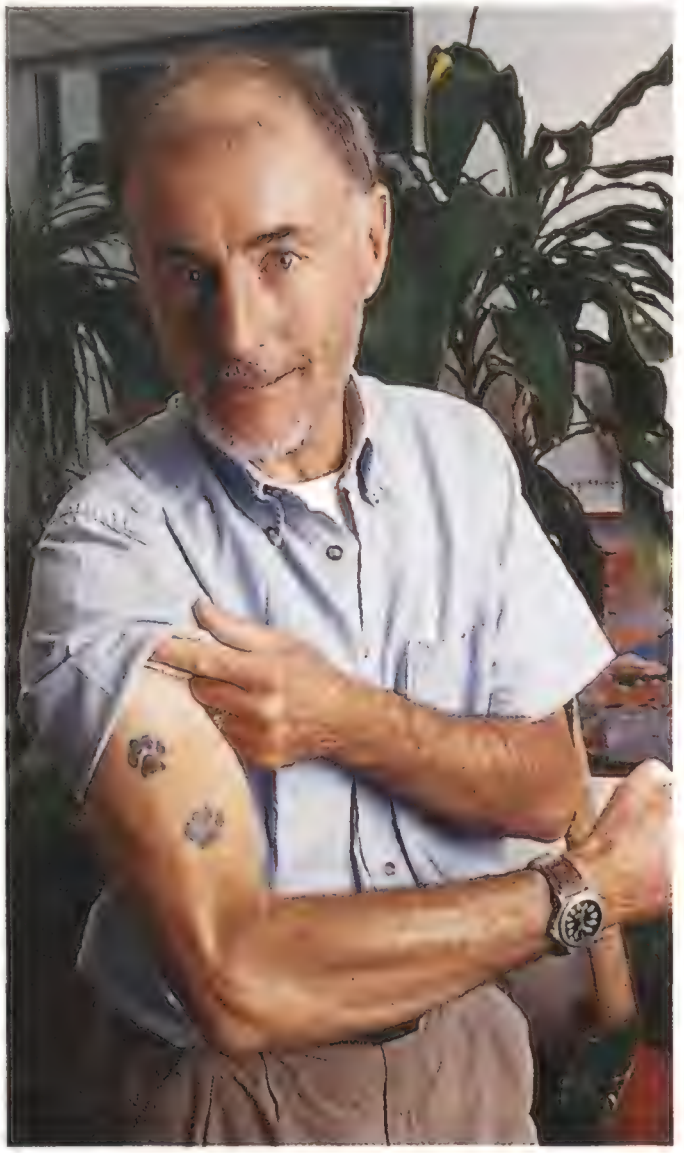
The photographs help other scientists focus their research; after all, you can't study wildlife unless you know where it is. Sanderson has provided eight cameras to an Indian biologist near Bhopal with a keen interest in caracals—football-size wildcats with tufted ears. But the most pointed use of "environmental surveillance" is to spur conservation efforts. Glimpses of rare and skittish creatures, Sanderson says, help make the case that a threatened area is worth saving, possibly as an ecotourist attraction.

Such is the goal in Cambodia. Beginning in April 2000, Sanderson and two Conservation International assistants spent two months setting up 20 cameras in a six-square-mile area of the Cardamom Mountains. (The first day, Sanderson plucked 54 leeches off his body as he and his team hiked seven hours from the drop-off point to camp.) Over the next year, the cameras nabbed many animals, including elephants and Asian black bears, and one prizewinner—a Siamese crocodile that some biologists believed was extinct. Conservationists wielded the photographs in their effort to convince Cambodian officials to set aside a million acres of the Cardamoms—one of the largest forests in Southeast Asia—for a wilderness preserve. Officials created the preserve in July.

Sanderson "is the first to actually bring some hard truths to the table," notes Joe Walston, a technical adviser with the Wildlife Conservation Society in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. "You can't argue with the photos he brings back."

Sanderson and colleagues Leandro Silveira and Anah Jácomo are also working in Brazil to help conserve the Cerrado, transitional grasslands that once blanketed more than 20 percent of the nation but today cover less than 2 percent. With 45 cameras, the researchers have photographed 50-pound armadillos, giant anteaters, tayras, jaguars, pumas, and ocelots. "We used to do inventories with observations of footprints," says Paulo Gustavo Prado, director of Conservation International's Cerrado program in Brazil. But the camera traps, he says, have found "more numerous animals in the area than we supposed."

First popularized by South African biologist Rodney Jackson, who documented snow leopards in Nepal in the early 1980s, camera trapping has perhaps two dozen full-time practitioners worldwide. Sanderson is among the most far-ranging. Holding a doctorate in mathematics, he was working at Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico when, in 1985, he got the conservation bug while on a vacation to Rwanda to view mountain gorillas at Dian Fossey's research camp. He quit his 23-year government career and returned to school to study biology and ecology. By 1996 he was in Chile searching for the seldom-seen guigna, a small cat. He saw one, but failed to photograph it. "It makes a track about this size," says Sanderson, rolling his right shirtsleeve up to reveal a double-pawed tattoo the diameter of a silver dollar. It was created from an ink-pad footprint that he took from a live guigna. If he ever crosses paths with the equally rare pampas cat, he says, there will be a companion set of tattoos on his left bicep.



A guigna, says Sanderson (sporting pawprint tattoo), is "the smallest cat in the Western Hemisphere."

Sanderson, a self-described running fanatic, is fascinated by small, relatively ignored members of the cat family. In October 1998 he set his first camera traps in an unsuccessful attempt to photograph the Andean mountain cat. He joined the Conservation International staff in 1999. When not in the field—he spends about nine months of the year on the road—he virtually camps out in his office, stringing up his portable hammock and sleeping there.

Sanderson says he would like to return some day to the Rwanda site of his environmental consciousness-raising and lay out a few camera traps in the surrounding green hills. "You can walk around the sole remaining habitat of the mountain gorilla in a day," he says wistfully. "We want to put the cameras in there and see how many gorillas there are . . . and how many poachers."

Biologists know that their presence in the field can spook the very animals they're trying to study; a camera trap can solve that conundrum. Of a recent project in Brazil to document endangered capuchin monkeys, Sanderson says: "We were able to catch these rare things walking around because we're not disturbing them. We know they're there because we have them on film." ○

Tom Dunkel is a freelance writer based in Washington, D.C.

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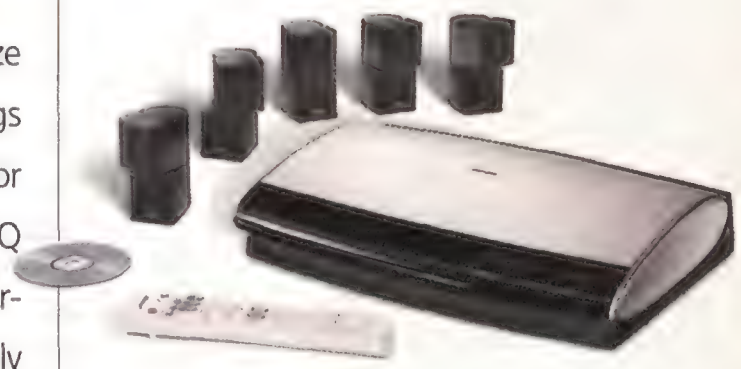

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PEOPLE FILE

Sherlock of Spuds

IN A CASE THAT COULD REVEAL THE VILLAIN BEHIND THE IRISH POTATO FAMINE, THE GUMSHOE IS A PLANT SCIENTIST

BY T. EDWARD NICKENS

"I GOT CHILLS THE FIRST TIME I held these," Jean Beagle Ristaino says. She gingerly spreads the shriveled leaves of five potato plants on a worktable. They look as if they've been moldering away under a refrigerator somewhere. But Ristaino, a plant pathologist at North Carolina State University in Raleigh, has been using them as Exhibit A in a demonstration of molecular detective work so deft one learned journal recently dubbed her "the Sherlock of Spuds."

Scientists have long assumed they knew what caused the potato blight that starved a million Irish in the mid-19th century: the 1b strain of the funguslike water mold called *Phytophthora infestans*, a disease that is believed to have originated in Mexico. Ristaino did not doubt that some strain of *P. infestans* was the cause, but she was not so sure about 1b. So she and her colleagues studied DNA from infected potato leaves collected in Ireland, Britain and France during the mid-1840s.

DNA, or deoxyribonucleic acid, is the double strand of molecules that carries a cell's unique genetic code. Within the past decade or so, DNA analysis of criminal evidence has overturned the convictions of more than 100 inmates in U.S. prisons, including 12 on death row. Ristaino's project marked the first time the technique had been used to investigate a historic plant disease, and last year she asserted that it proved 1b was not the culprit after all. "This was a fantastic application of a novel technique that told us we were on the wrong path," says Greg Forbes of the International Potato Center, a research facility in Lima, Peru.

But if 1b wasn't responsible for the Irish famine, which strain was? Did it originate in Mexico or somewhere else? If we knew how the disease evolved, could modern outbreaks be prevented? Today, Ristaino is wrestling with these vexing questions.

Ristaino (injecting plants with a pathogen) uses DNA analysis of evidence to home in on the culprit.

KELLY CULPEPPER

The study of plant diseases is not for everyone. Those who do this specialized work—the American Phytopathological Society (APS), based in St. Paul, Minnesota, lists nearly 5,000 members—tend to be driven perfectionists. Typically a researcher inoculates healthy plants with fungi, a virus or bacteria to learn how a disease works. Breakthroughs like Ristaino's are rare, but when they do occur they can change history.

In 1977 Eugene Nester of the University of Washington in Seattle discovered that a bacterium that produces plant tumors actually incorporates its own DNA into the DNA of a host plant's cells. In time, that insight led scientists to be able to replace that bacterium's "bad" genes with "good" ones, and use the technique to engineer disease- and herbicide-resistant cotton and soybeans. In 1993, Gregory Martin of the Boyce Thompson Institute for Plant Research in Ithaca, New York, became the first pathologist to clone a disease resistance gene. More than two dozen such genes have since been cloned, enabling breeders to grow hardier strains of tobacco, tomato, rice and flax.

Ristaino's revelation that 1b did not cause the Irish potato famine is controversial—some researchers question her methodology—but her further suggestion that *P. infestans* could have originated in South America undercuts conventional wisdom. "There's a big debate about this," cautions Stephen Goodwin, a U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) plant pathologist at Purdue University, whose own genetics studies a decade ago shored up the theory of a Mexican origin. "More work needs to be done." Meanwhile, fungicide-resistant new strains of the old disease are devastating potato fields all over the world.

A sixth-generation native of Washington, D.C., Ristaino entered the University of Maryland as a history major, then

switched to biology. As a student at the USDA's sprawling research center in Beltsville, Maryland, she worked part-time washing petri dishes and hauling sacks of alfalfa. One day she stumbled upon an enormous fungus collection squirreled away in the basement. "That's where I discovered plant pathology," she says, her blue eyes glittering. "Lots of old specimens, things like rotten potatoes in bottles that were collected by famous pathologists."

While at Maryland, she married Andre Ristaino, and they soon headed west for the University of California at Davis, where she earned her doctorate in 1987. A few months later, she started her work in Raleigh. In the mid-1990s, Ristaino read about scientists who were analyzing DNA from such ancient materials as dinosaur bones and prehistoric insects preserved in amber. "I thought, 'Why not DNA from a plant pathogen?'" Her interest in the potato blight was underscored at a 1995 conference she attended in Ireland on the 150th anniversary of the Great Hunger. Two years later, she took a sabbatical. Poring through herbarium sheets containing infected potato plants, she collected the leaves from which she extracted the tiny bits of *P. infestans* DNA. She also came upon a trove of fascinating letters written by scientists during and after the famine. In the course of her study, Ristaino learned that when *P. infestans* began its fateful journey to Ireland, male laborers there typically consumed 12 to 14 pounds of potatoes a day. "People didn't understand that pathogens cause disease," she says. "The Irish blamed bad weather, or the spirits, or acts of God." Today, in addition to figuring out how the blight mutates in infected modern potatoes to "outwit" fungicide, she continues a historic investigation into the disease's true origins. "Gene genealogy," she calls it. Eventually it should lead to improved methods of diagnosing the disease, tracking its spread and controlling it in the field.

As for the resistance to her findings, the 45-year-old mother of two is undaunted. "I knew I was challenging major dogma," she says. "That's part of the scientific process." And a small price to pay, she feels, for the knowledge that results. "This pathogen precipitated a major movement of people around the world and devastated an entire country," she adds. "What could be more exciting than trying to figure it out?" ○

T. Edward Nickens, a Raleigh, North Carolina, freelancer, wrote about historic batteaux on the James River in the June 2002 issue.

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HERE'S LOOKING AT YOU, BAPU: 133 boys from the Almighty Montessori School in Lucknow, India, dressed up like Mohandas K. Gandhi on October 2 to honor the 133rd anniversary of the mahatma's ("great-souled") birth. More typically, Indians mark the day by laying wreaths at his statues and visiting his mausoleum in Delhi. Gandhi's satyagraha, or passive resistance, campaigns won India's independence from Britain in 1947; the constitution he helped craft ensures boys like these free school up to age 14. In 1948, a Hindu fanatic murdered the mahatma, then 78. Photographer Pawan Kumar, of AFP Photo, is based in Lucknow.

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POINTS OF INTEREST

Like a Rowing Stone

AN UNUSUAL CANOE COMPETITION IN MADISON, WISCONSIN, FLOATS THE NOTION THAT CONCRETE WAIVES THE RULES

BY MICHAEL BEHAR

Teams from 25 schools raise up to $120,000 to design and build a boat to compete in the "Superbowl of concrete canoe racing."

ALL: LAYNE KENNEDY

IT'S BARELY DAYBREAK in Madison, Wisconsin, but John Gilbert has already worked up a sweat. The 54-year-old, self-described concrete connoisseur is pacing the southern shore of Lake Mendota, which borders the sprawling University of Wisconsin campus. On this summer weekend, the university is hosting the 15th Annual National Concrete Canoe Competition, a collegiate event Gilbert hasn't missed since 1990. At the moment, he's inspecting 25 slender canoes—one from each contending school—neatly aligned at the water's edge.

When Gilbert, who teaches mechanical and civil engineering at the University of Alabama in Huntsville, invited me to the competition, I envisioned burly jocks paddling half-ton stone bathtubs in a losing battle to keep them afloat. In the early days, this scenario was not so far-fetched. Today, the boats are sleek and refined, painted in brilliant school colors and nearly identical in shape and size to their conventional aluminum and fiberglass cousins. Yet most of these craft are about 90 percent concrete. (Race rules require that participants leave a strip of canoe midsection unpainted so that judges can check out the concrete for themselves.) Student competitors decide which ingredients they will add to portland cement to make the concrete mixture. They have experimented with dozens of odd materials, from tiny glass orbs called microballoons to rice, perlite, silica fume and a wispy filler dubbed K37.

The 20-foot-long canoes are digitally sculpted on computers, then formed in intricate molds; they can cost up to $120,000 to design and build. They are not only strong and superlight—weighing between 70 and 130 pounds—but some of them are even flexible. "We could make these boats lighter," says Gilbert, an undisputed authority on the

There's no dress code for paddlers, but each canoe must reveal a patch of bared midsection.

subject. "But I'm not sure that would be better because they'd wobble too much."

Alabama's most recent prototype is a 72-pound canoe that behaves something like a coiled spring. During each paddle stroke, the pressure of the water against the concrete hull compresses it slightly. When canoeists pull their paddles from the water, the hull expands, releasing energy and pushing the canoe forward.

More than 250 civil engineering students from 25 universities in the United States, Mexico and Canada have come to Madison for the four-day event. The 6-foot-1-inch Gilbert dashes from one team to the next, peppering competitors with questions about additives they've mixed into their cement and how they've shaped their molds. He even buttonholes paddlers just off the lake, eager to learn if their canoes performed better in calm water or in a slight chop.

Gilbert publishes this information on his Web site, ConcreteCanoe.org, which bills itself as "the world's largest and most comprehensive data base on concrete canoeing." Under his leadership, the University of Alabama has won five national concrete canoe championships—more than any other school—and a total of 12 Southeast division league titles. This year, however, the team was eliminated during oral presentations at the regional competitions because a computer software glitch fouled up their presentation.

Spy or scientist? Gilbert tirelessly studies his competition's tricks and techniques.

Intent on reclaiming the national title next year, Gilbert and four members of his Alabama team made the 750-mile road trip from Huntsville to Madison expressly to check out—and videotape—the competition. "If I were a betting person, I'd put money on Clemson University," says Sarah Yeldell, one of Gilbert's students, "even though they are our nemesis." She insists that intelligence gathering is common—it's almost expected—and that it keeps the competition fierce.

BY MIDMORNING on race day, temperatures top 90 degrees F and the air is stagnant and sticky. Sunburned spectators crowd the lakefront, swaying to the rhythms of New Age and hip-hop music blaring over the PA system. Gilbert can be found at Clemson's camp, scribbling on a pad and snapping photographs with a digital camera.

A little later, he times the 600-meter slalom/endurance race, in which paddlers deftly navigate seven tightly spaced buoys with agility, then charge down a 500-meter straightaway. "Seconds are really critical now," he says as Clemson and the University of Florida sprint neck and neck to the finish line.

In a 200-meter sprint, a four-person crew (two men and two women) paddles furiously, gunwales just inches from the waterline. The slightest mistake can upset a canoe. "Our boat started bouncing from the rhythm of the paddlers," a drenched Ryan Taylor of Colorado State recounts after his team sportingly swims their swamped boat across the finish line. "I didn't see it coming until there was a wall of water on top of us."

At the end of the day, the Clemson crew has indeed prevailed. Gilbert credits its success to a flawless paddling technique and superior engineering. As the Clemson team accepts its trophy, I wonder what the native Ho-chunk Indians, who traversed the region's waterways in dugout canoes almost two centuries ago, would have thought about this concrete model. I doubt they ever considered plastering an adhesive mixture of pebbles and lake silt to their keels.

Gilbert says the material's versatility might one day yield concrete airplanes, submarines, clothing and sneakers. Before long, he says, flexible concrete spans will hold up earthquake-proof bridges. Self-healing concrete will repair chips and cracks in construction projects. "The new generation of concrete could be designed to act like rubber when it's punctured," he says, evoking the image of a sidewalk that can fill its own cracks. But what really excites Gilbert is his belief that innovations like these may cement the University of Alabama's sixth national championship. ○

Writer Michael Behar, a longtime kayaker, lives in Washington, D.C.

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Whether there is a clinical effect of these inhibitors is not known. Inducers of CYP 2D6 and CYP 3A4 (e.g., phenytoin, carbamazepine, dexamethasone, rifampin, and phenobarbital) could increase the rate of elimination of ARICEPT®. ***Use with Anticholinergics:*** Because of their mechanism of action, cholinesterase inhibitors have the potential to interfere with the activity of anticholinergic medications. ***Use with Cholinomimetics and Other Cholinesterase Inhibitors:*** A synergistic effect may be expected when cholinesterase inhibitors are given concurrently with succinylcholine, similar neuromuscular blocking agents or cholinergic agonists such as bethanechol. **Carcinogenesis, Mutagenesis, Impairment of Fertility** Carcinogenicity studies of donepezil have not been completed. Donepezil was not mutagenic in the Ames reverse mutation assay in bacteria. In the chromosome aberration test in cultures of Chinese hamster lung (CHL) cells, some clastogenic effects were observed. Donepezil was not clastogenic in the *in vivo* mouse micronucleus test. Donepezil had no effect on fertility in rats at doses up to 10 mg/kg/day (approximately 8 times the maximum recommended human dose on a mg/m² basis). **Pregnancy** ***Pregnancy Category C:*** Teratology studies conducted in pregnant rats at doses up to 16 mg/kg/day (approximately 13 times the maximum recommended human dose on a mg/m² basis) and in pregnant rabbits at doses up to 10 mg/kg/day (approximately 16 times the maximum recommended human dose on a mg/m² basis) did not disclose any evidence for a teratogenic potential of donepezil. However, in a study in which pregnant rats were given up to 10 mg/kg/day (approximately 8 times the maximum recommended human dose on a mg/m² basis) from day 17 of gestation through day 20 postpartum, there was a slight increase in still births and a slight decrease in pup survival through day 4 postpartum at this dose; the next lower dose tested was 3 mg/kg/day. There are no adequate or well-controlled studies in pregnant women. ARICEPT® should be used during pregnancy only if the potential benefit justifies the potential risk to the fetus. **Nursing Mothers** It is not known whether donepezil is excreted in human breast milk. ARICEPT® has no indication for use in nursing mothers. **Pediatric Use** There are no adequate and well-controlled trials to document the safety and efficacy of ARICEPT® in any illness occurring in children. **ADVERSE REACTIONS Adverse Events Leading to Discontinuation** The rates of discontinuation from controlled clinical trials of ARICEPT® due to adverse events for the ARICEPT® 5 mg/day treatment groups were comparable to those of placebo-treatment groups at approximately 5%. The rate of discontinuation of patients who received 7-day escalations from 5 mg/day to 10 mg/day, was higher at 13%. The most common adverse events leading to discontinuation, defined as those occurring in at least 2% of patients and at twice the incidence seen in placebo patients, are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Most Frequent Adverse Events Leading to Withdrawal from Controlled Clinical Trials by Dose Group

Dose Group	Placebo	5 mg/day ARICEPT®	10 mg/day ARICEPT®
Patients Randomized	355	350	315
Event/%Discontinuing			
Nausea	1%	1%	3%
Diarrhea	0%	<1%	3%
Vomiting	<1%	<1%	2%

Most Frequent Adverse Clinical Events Seen in Association with the Use of ARICEPT® The most common adverse events, defined as those occurring at a frequency of at least 5% in patients receiving 10 mg/day and twice the placebo rate, are largely predicted by ARICEPT®'s cholinomimetic effects. These include nausea, diarrhea, insomnia, vomiting, muscle cramp, fatigue and anorexia. These adverse events were often of mild intensity and transient, resolving during continued ARICEPT® treatment without the need for dose modification. There is evidence to suggest that the frequency of these common adverse events may be affected by the rate of titration. An open-label study was conducted with 269 patients who received placebo in the 15- and 30-week studies. These patients were titrated to a dose of 10 mg/day over a 6-week period. The rates of common adverse events were lower than those seen in patients titrated to 10 mg/day over one week in the controlled clinical trials and were comparable to those seen in patients on 5 mg/day. See Table 2 for a comparison of the most common adverse events following one and six week titration regimens.

Table 2. Comparison of Rates of Adverse Events in Patients Titrated to 10 mg/day Over 1 and 6 Weeks

	No titration		One-week titration	Six-week titration
Adverse Event	**Placebo (n=315)**	**5 mg/day (n=311)**	**10 mg/day (n=315)**	**10 mg/day (n=269)**
Nausea	6%	5%	19%	6%
Diarrhea	5%	8%	15%	9%
Insomnia	6%	6%	14%	6%
Fatigue	3%	4%	8%	3%
Vomiting	3%	3%	8%	5%
Muscle cramps	2%	6%	8%	3%
Anorexia	2%	3%	7%	3%

Adverse Events Reported in Controlled Trials The events cited reflect experience gained under closely monitored conditions of clinical trials in a highly selected patient population. In actual clinical practice or in other clinical trials, these frequency estimates may not apply, as the conditions of use, reporting behavior, and the kinds of patients treated may differ. Table 3 lists treatment emergent signs and symptoms that were reported in at least 2% of patients in placebo-controlled trials who received ARICEPT®, and for which the rate of occurrence was greater for ARICEPT® assigned than placebo assigned patients. In general, adverse events occurred more frequently in female patients and with advancing age.

Table 3. Adverse Events Reported in Controlled Clinical Trials in at Least 2% of Patients Receiving ARICEPT® (donepezil HCl) and at a Higher Frequency than Placebo-treated Patients

Body System/Adverse Event	Placebo (n=355)	ARICEPT® (n=747)
Percent of Patients with any Adverse Event	**72**	**74**
Body as a Whole		
Headache	9	10
Pain, various locations	8	9
Accident	6	7
Fatigue	3	5
Cardiovascular System		
Syncope	1	2
Digestive System		
Nausea	6	11
Diarrhea	5	10
Vomiting	3	5
Anorexia	2	4
Hemic and Lymphatic System		
Ecchymosis	3	4
Metabolic and Nutritional Systems		
Weight Decrease	1	3
Musculoskeletal System		
Muscle Cramps	2	6
Arthritis	1	2
Nervous System		
Insomnia	6	9
Dizziness	6	8
Depression	<1	3
Abnormal Dreams	0	3
Somnolence	<1	2
Urogenital System		
Frequent Urination	1	2

Other Adverse Events Observed During Clinical Trials ARICEPT® has been administered to over 1700 individuals during clinical trials worldwide. Approximately 1200 of these patients have been treated for at least 3 months and more than 1000 patients have been treated for at least 6 months. Controlled and uncontrolled trials in the United States included approximately 900 patients. In regards to the highest dose of 10 mg/day, this population includes 650 patients treated for 3 months, 475 patients treated for 6 months and 116 patients treated for over 1 year. The range of patient exposure is from 1 to 1214 days. Treatment emergent signs and symptoms that occurred during 3 controlled clinical trials and two open-label trials in the United States were recorded as adverse events by the clinical investigators using terminology of their own choosing. To provide an overall estimate of the proportion of individuals having similar types of events, the events were grouped into a smaller number of standardized categories using a modified COSTART dictionary and event frequencies were calculated across all studies. These categories are used in the listing below. The frequencies represent the proportion of 900 patients from these trials who experienced that event while receiving ARICEPT®. All adverse events occurring at least twice are included, except for those already listed in Tables 2 or 3, COSTART terms too general to be informative, or events less likely to be drug caused. Events are classified by body system and listed using the following definitions: *frequent adverse events*—those occurring in at least 1/100 patients; *infrequent adverse events*—those occurring in 1/100 to 1/1000 patients. These adverse events are not necessarily related to ARICEPT® treatment and in most cases were observed at a similar frequency in placebo-treated patients in the controlled studies. No important additional adverse events were seen in studies conducted outside the United States. **Body as a Whole:** *Frequent:* influenza, chest pain, toothache; *Infrequent:* fever, edema face, periorbital edema, hernia hiatal, abscess, cellulitis, chills, generalized coldness, head fullness, listlessness. **Cardiovascular System:** *Frequent:* hypertension, vasodilation, atrial fibrillation, hot flashes, hypotension; *Infrequent:* angina pectoris, postural hypotension, myocardial infarction, AV block (first degree), congestive heart failure, arteritis, bradycardia, peripheral vascular disease, supraventricular tachycardia, deep vein thrombosis. **Digestive System:** *Frequent:* fecal incontinence, gastrointestinal bleeding, bloating, epigastric pain; *Infrequent:* eructation, gingivitis, increased appetite, flatulence, periodontal abscess, cholelithiasis, diverticulitis, drooling, dry mouth, fever sore, gastritis, irritable colon, tongue edema, epigastric distress, gastroenteritis, increased transaminases, hemorrhoids, ileus, increased thirst, jaundice, melena, polydipsia, duodenal ulcer, stomach ulcer. **Endocrine System:** *Infrequent:* diabetes mellitus, goiter. **Hemic and Lymphatic System:** *Infrequent:* anemia, thrombocythemia, thrombocytopenia, eosinophilia, erythrocytopenia. **Metabolic and Nutritional Disorders:** *Frequent:* dehydration; *Infrequent:* gout, hypokalemia, increased creatine kinase, hyperglycemia, weight increase, increased lactate dehydrogenase. **Musculoskeletal System:** *Frequent:* bone fracture; *Infrequent:* muscle weakness, muscle fasciculation. **Nervous System:** *Frequent:* delusions, tremor, irritability, paresthesia, aggression, vertigo, ataxia, increased libido, restlessness, abnormal crying, nervousness, aphasia; *Infrequent:* cerebrovascular accident, intracranial hemorrhage, transient ischemic attack, emotional lability, neuralgia, coldness (localized), muscle spasm, dysphoria, gait abnormality, hypertonia, hypokinesia, neurodermatitis, numbness (localized), paranoia, dysarthria, dysphasia, hostility, decreased libido, melancholia, emotional withdrawal, nystagmus, pacing. **Respiratory System:** *Frequent:* dyspnea, sore throat, bronchitis; *Infrequent:* epistaxis, post nasal drip, pneumonia, hyperventilation, pulmonary congestion, wheezing, hypoxia, pharyngitis, pleurisy, pulmonary collapse, sleep apnea, snoring. **Skin and Appendages:** *Frequent:* pruritus, diaphoresis, urticaria; *Infrequent:* dermatitis, erythema, skin discoloration, hyperkeratosis, alopecia, fungal dermatitis, herpes zoster, hirsutism, skin striae, night sweats, skin ulcer. **Special Senses:** *Frequent:* cataract, eye irritation, vision blurred; *Infrequent:* dry eyes, glaucoma, earache, tinnitus, blepharitis, decreased hearing, retinal hemorrhage, otitis externa, otitis media, bad taste, conjunctival hemorrhage, ear buzzing, motion sickness, spots before eyes. **Urogenital System:** *Frequent:* urinary incontinence, nocturia; *Infrequent:* dysuria, hematuria, urinary urgency, metrorrhagia, cystitis, enuresis, prostate hypertrophy, pyelonephritis, inability to empty bladder, breast fibroadenosis, fibrocystic breast, mastitis, pyuria, renal failure, vaginitis. **Postintroduction Reports** Voluntary reports of adverse events temporally associated with ARICEPT® that have been received since market introduction that are not listed above, and that there is inadequate data to determine the causal relationship with the drug include the following: abdominal pain, agitation, cholecystitis, confusion, convulsions, hallucinations, heart block (all types), hemolytic anemia, hepatitis, hyponatremia, neuroleptic malignant syndrome, pancreatitis, and rash. **OVERDOSAGE Because strategies for the management of overdose are continually evolving, it is advisable to contact a Poison Control Center to determine the latest recommendations for the management of an overdose of any drug.** As in any case of overdose, general supportive measures should be utilized. Overdosage with cholinesterase inhibitors can result in cholinergic crisis characterized by severe nausea, vomiting, salivation, sweating, bradycardia, hypotension, respiratory depression, collapse and convulsions. Increasing muscle weakness is a possibility and may result in death if respiratory muscles are involved. Tertiary anticholinergics such as atropine may be used as an antidote for ARICEPT® overdosage. Intravenous atropine sulfate titrated to effect is recommended: an initial dose of 1.0 to 2.0 mg IV with subsequent doses based upon clinical response. Atypical responses in blood pressure and heart rate have been reported with other cholinomimetics when co-administered with quaternary anticholinergics such as glycopyrrolate. It is not known whether ARICEPT® and/or its metabolites can be removed by dialysis (hemodialysis, peritoneal dialysis, or hemofiltration). Dose-related signs of toxicity in animals included reduced spontaneous movement, prone position, staggering gait, lacrimation, clonic convulsions, depressed respiration, salivation, miosis, tremors, fasciculation and lower body surface temperature. **DOSAGE AND ADMINISTRATION** The dosages of ARICEPT® shown to be effective in controlled clinical trials are 5 mg and 10 mg administered once per day. The higher dose of 10 mg did not provide a statistically significantly greater clinical benefit than 5 mg. There is a suggestion, however, based upon order of group mean scores and dose trend analyses of data from these clinical trials, that a daily dose of 10 mg of ARICEPT® might provide additional benefit for some patients. Accordingly, whether or not to employ a dose of 10 mg is a matter of prescriber and patient preference. Evidence from the controlled trials indicates that the 10 mg dose, with a one week titration, is likely to be associated with a higher incidence of cholinergic adverse events than the 5 mg dose. In open label trials using a 6 week titration, the frequency of these same adverse events was similar between the 5 mg and 10 mg dose groups. Therefore, because steady state is not achieved for 15 days and because the incidence of untoward effects may be influenced by the rate of dose escalation, treatment with a dose of 10 mg should not be contemplated until patients have been on a daily dose of 5 mg for 4 to 6 weeks. ARICEPT® should be taken in the evening, just prior to retiring, and may be taken with or without food.

Eisai Inc. Teaneck, NJ 07666 Pfizer U.S. Pharmaceuticals New York, NY 10017 200177 Revised December 2000

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A Picture a Day

RUSHING FROM NEWS story to news story, Pulitzer Prize-winning photojournalist David Hume Kennerly used to agonize over the pictures he missed—particularly the unexpected shots that had nothing to do with the assignment at hand.

So in December 1999, he came up with what he calls a "whimsical notion. . . . This time I wouldn't speed across that covered bridge to get to the big event on the other side, but instead I would slow down a bit, maybe even pause to take a picture of the bridge." While on assignment for *Newsweek* (in 38 states and seven countries, as it turned out), he brought along another camera, a Mamiya 7, designated for taking at least one picture, every day for a year, just for himself.

The result: Kennerly's fourth book, *Photo du Jour: A Picture-a-Day Journey through the First Year of the New Millennium* (University of Texas Press). Selected images from that project, 150 in all, appear in a traveling exhibition of the same name, which opened in October at the Smithsonian's Arts and Industries Building in Washington, D.C. (The show moves on to cities that include Los Angeles, California, Portland, Oregon, and Austin, Texas.)

There were days when Kennerly, best known as Gerald Ford's official White House photographer when he was

DAVID HUME KENNERLY

American idols: in Driggs, Idaho, September 30, 2000, photographer Kennerly encountered a pair of promotion-minded taters.

president, was stuck in an airport or on a plane or bedridden after knee surgery. No matter, a picture had to be taken. Of his sons, Nick, Jack and Byron. Of a fern in his Santa Monica backyard. Of a mausoleum at the Hollywood Forever Cemetery, or of the Love of Christ Detail Shop in Macon, Georgia, or of John McCain on "The Straight Talk Express."

A single quirky image, of two gargantuan, concrete potatoes in the back of a pickup truck, symbolizes what Kennerly went looking for. He took it in Driggs, Idaho.

"This is the first time we've had publicity on my little truck," says Richard Wood, referring to the 1946 Chevy that ferries around the oversize spuds. Once used to promote Wood's now defunct Tater Theatre, a downtown Driggs movie house, the ersatz potatoes now draw the curious to Wood's remaining cinematic enterprise, the Spud Drive-In, two miles south of town.

"There is a constant stream of traffic," Wood reports. "Folks like to climb right into the truck, stand beside the potatoes. I've seen as many as six people getting into the bed of the truck to have their picture taken."

Kennerly understands. "My dad was a salesman, an entrepreneur, a bit of a showman," Kennerly says. "A couple of giant potatoes in a truck advertising a theater—it's a corny, charming, funny thing to do. Something he would have done. I can hear him saying 'I've got a great idea!'" —*Victoria Dawson*

Kennerly logged 250,000 miles.

Hurry In

Cecily Brown, a 33-year-old figurative-expressionist artist who draws on sources from old masters to vintage Hollywood movies, has earned a substantial following with erotically charged abstractions such as *Second Honeymoon* (1999), above. Seven of her works are on view through March 2 at the Hirshhorn Museum.

Common But Not Subservient

"I never got the feeling, even as a child, that I couldn't achieve," says actor Robert Guillaume. Although he grew up poor in Depression-era St. Louis, Guillaume went on to star in several hit television series—*Soap* and *Benson* in the 1970s and '80s and, from 1998 to 2000, *Sports Night*, winning two Emmy awards along the way.

Guillaume's career is the subject of a new exhibition, "Roles, Reactions and Reality: The Collection of Robert Guillaume," which recently opened at the Anacostia Museum and Center for African American History and Culture in Washington, D.C. The show, featuring his memorabilia, coincides with the publication of his autobiography, *Guillaume: A Life*.

Behind the scenes, Guillaume, 75, battled producers over his portrayal of Benson, the self-possessed butler turned lieutenant governor. Guillaume says it was his idea to confer upward mobility on his sitcom character. Benson, Guillaume adds, "was a common man—but he didn't have to be subservient. Of course he was ambitious. Aren't all Americans? That's what I wanted him to be."

As Isaac Jaffee, the brainy, compassionate executive producer of a fictional all-sports cable channel on ABC's *Sports Night*, Guillaume created another memorable character. "I liked playing the wise old man," he says. "I related to Jaffee, who'd earned his stripes as a workaday journalist."

Guillaume: "Aren't all Americans ambitious?"

Throughout a 41-year career, says Anacostia Museum director Steven Newsome, "Guillaume has broken new ground in his desire to be seen as a person who, while being comedic, portrayed black men with dignity."

Guillaume credits his success to his grandmother, who worked as a domestic and took in laundry to support him. "Her drive," he says, "became my drive." He hopes her message comes through at the Anacostia. Kids who see the show will find an emphasis on the importance of "focusing on a goal," he says.

—*Margery Sellinger*

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Reviving a Greek Revival

"This was the Smithsonian before there was a Smithsonian," says Marc Pachter, director of the National Portrait Gallery. Together with his colleague, Elizabeth Broun, director of the Smithsonian American Art Museum—both of them fitted out in white hard hats—he makes his way through the labyrinthine recesses of the Patent Office Building just a bounce pass from the home of the Washington Wizards basketball team in downtown D.C. The block-long landmark, dating from 1836 and currently home to the two Smithsonian museums, is undergoing a massive, $216 million renovation, scheduled for completion in 2006.

A splendid example of Greek Revival architecture, the 382,000-square-foot building originally housed the young nation's most treasured artifacts—including the Declaration of Independence and a tent occupied by General Washington during the Revolutionary War—in the years before the creation of the Smithsonian Institution in 1846 and the National Archives in 1934.

Full-scale face-lift: two museums' interiors are transformed.

The plan is not only to restore the building to its original glory but also to create a state-of-the-art space for the two museums. "We've stripped away everything that was added in the 1960s," says Broun, referring to extensive alterations made during that period. For the first time in nearly 40 years architect Robert Mills' vaulted aisles, for instance, which soar like the interiors of a great cathedral, can be seen in their full expanse.

On the third floor of the four-story building, in the vast 17,000-square-foot Lincoln Gallery that was used as a barracks and a hospital during the Civil War (and where the Great Emancipator danced at his Second Inaugural Ball), is what Broun calls "one of the most exciting finds made during the renovation process."

Exciting find: Civil War graffiti.

Carved in a wooden window frame are the initials of what is presumed to be an unknown soldier: C.H.F., and the date, August 8, 1864.

The restoration will include an impressive array of new facilities, including an underground auditorium and a conservation lab. The spacious, open-air courtyard within the building is to be glassed over, allowing for year-round activities. It will be the most contemporary aspect of the painstakingly restored landmark. "I want a few notes of 21st-century exuberance," says Pachter. "This should not be a holy place frozen in time."

—Deborah K. Dietsch

CAMERON DAVIDSON (2)

Visit the Smithsonian

For a free Associates' planning packet, call Smithsonian Information, 202-357-2700 or 202-357-1729 (TTY), 9 A.M.-5 P.M., Monday through Saturday, or send an e-mail to info@si.edu.

INFORMATION CENTER

Upon arrival, stop at the Smithsonian Information Center in the Castle (9 A.M.-5:30 P.M.). Most museums are open daily, 10 A.M.-5:30 P.M., except December 25. Members are invited to drop by the reception desk (9 A.M.-4 P.M.) to register for a behind-the-scenes tour and to hear about membership benefits.

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MANHATTAN MAYHEM

Martin Scorsese's realistic portrayal of pre-Civil War strife—Gangs of New York—*re-creates the brutal street warfare waged between immigrant groups*

BY FERGUS M. BORDEWICH

WHEN HE WAS GROWING UP on Lower Manhattan's Elizabeth Street in the 1950s, Martin Scorsese noticed tantalizing vestiges of a New York City that simply didn't fit into the Little Italy neighborhood he otherwise knew so well. There were the tombstones dating to the 1810s in the graveyard at nearby St. Patrick's church, cobblestone pavements that hinted at horse-drawn traffic, and the "very tiny, very ancient" basements he discovered beneath late-19th-century tenements. "I gradually realized that the Italian-Americans weren't the first ones there, that other people had preceded us," says Scorsese. "This fascinated me. I kept wondering, how did New York look? What were the people like? How did they walk, eat, work, dress?"

That childhood obsession with a vanished past propels the *Gangs of New York*, Scorsese's epic evocation of the city's brutal, colorful underworld in the first half of the 19th century. But the director says the movie, which opens nationwide this month, had its genesis in a "chance encounter" more than 30 years ago. In January 1970, Scorsese, by then an aspiring filmmaker, stumbled across a volume in a friend's library that changed everything he thought he knew about his old neighborhood. Suddenly, the nameless ghosts that had flitted through those mysterious basements sprang to life. The book was *The Gangs of New York*, an account of the city's 19th-century underworld published in 1927 by journalist Herbert Asbury. "It was a revelation," Scorsese says. "There were so many gangs!"

In Asbury's vivid chronicle, Scorsese discovered a dead-

MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. JACOB A. RIIS COLLECTION

Photojournalist Jacob Riis (whose lantern slide of back-alley loiterers was colored c. 1890) knew the impoverished Lower East Side as a breeding ground of crime "not fit for Christian men and women, let alone innocent children, to live in."

ly subculture of hoodlums with names like the Bowery Boys, the Plug Uglies, the Short Tails and the Dead Rabbits, the latter so called, it was said, because they carried a dead rabbit on a pike as their battle standard. In these pages, he was introduced to legions of once-notorious gangsters, among them Bill "the Butcher" Poole, Red Rocks Farrell, Slobbery Jim, Sow Madden, Piggy Noles, Suds Merrick, Cowlegged Sam McCarthy, Eat 'Em Up Jack McManus. Not all the thugs, he discovered, were male. Hell-Cat Maggie, legend has it, filed her front teeth to points and wore artificial brass fingernails, the better to lacerate her adversaries.

Behind much of the violence lay a clash that involved, on the one hand, a population of largely protestant Americans, some of them with 18th-century English and Dutch roots in the New World, some of them more recent arrivals. This group collectively came to be known as nativists, for their perceived entitlement to native American soil. They squared off against Catholic Irish immigrants who arrived in the millions during the 19th century. Nativists "looked at the Irish coming off the boats," Scorsese adds, "and said, 'What are you doing here?' It was chaos, tribal chaos."

In Asbury's book, Scorsese recognized something larger than a portrait of the city's bygone lowlife. As the descendant of immigrants himself (his grandparents arrived from Sicily at the turn of the century), he saw in the bloody street fighting of the mid-19th century a battle for nothing less than democracy itself. "The country was up for grabs, and New York was a powder keg," says Scorsese. "This was the America not of the West with its wide open spaces, but of claustrophobia, where everyone was crushed together. If democracy didn't happen in New York, it wasn't going to happen anywhere."

As a fledgling director, Scorsese could only dream of taking Asbury's characters to the screen. But two years after his hard-edged portrayal of his old neighborhood in 1977's *Mean Streets*, which brought him critical acclaim, Scorsese acquired the screen rights to the book. It would take him three decades to bring his vision to fruition.

Beginning with a bloody gang war in 1846, *Gangs of New York* culminates amid the Götterdämmerung of the 1863 draft riots, in which perhaps as many as 70,000 men and women, aroused by the introduction of mandatory conscription during the third year of the Civil War, rampaged through the streets of New York, setting houses afire, battling police and lynching African-Americans. Federal troops had to be brought in to quell the disturbance.

As early as 1800, immigrants, nativists and others had confronted one another in the streets of New York. Here, competing groups vied for living space and economic

BRIGITTE LACOMBE

At a studio in Italy, production designer Dante Ferretti painstakingly re-created the look of 19th-century New York City for director Scorsese (at right, in white shirt). "Nothing is fantasy," insists Ferretti, who replicated a 30-block stretch of Lower Manhattan. "Everything is built to look precisely as it did."

IN 1830, THE FIVE POINTS NEIGHBORHOOD WAS DESCRIBED AS A "LOATHSOME DEN OF MURDERERS, THIEVES, ABANDONED WOMEN. . . ."

survival in a cramped district near the tip of Manhattan. Though Scorsese's film does not claim to transcribe events of long ago with documentary precision, its fictional plots of vengeance, romance and political intrigue evoke an all-but-forgotten urban past, as if Scorsese had pried loose one of Lower Manhattan's ancient cobblestones, and the teeming world of the 1850s had risen emphatically from the depths.

RE-CREATING THIS lost world was a daunting exercise. Very little of 1860s New York City—in particular, two- and three-story wood frame buildings, which began disappearing in the 1830s—survives today. Ultimately, Scorsese's solution was, in effect, to transport 19th-century New York to the vast Cinecitta Studio in Rome, where most of the film was shot. Scores of buildings (laid end to end, the structures would extend for more than a mile) were constructed to replicate entire sections of the city. Production designer Dante Ferretti's army of carpenters built a five-block area of Lower Manhattan, including the notorious Five Points slum (so named because of the angular convergence of streets there, a few hundred feet east of today's criminal courts and a short walk from Ground Zero) and a section of the East River waterfront replete with two full-scale ships. They also built a mansion, replicas of Tammany Hall, a church, a saloon, a Chinese theater and a gambling casino.

By the late 1820s, the Five Points district (painted by George Catlin, c. 1827, top, and re-created for the film, above) was notorious. After visiting the neighborhood, frontiersman Davy Crockett wrote: "I would rather risque myself in an Indian fight than venture among these creatures after night."

Says the amiable Ferretti, a protégé of the late legend Federico Fellini: "When I make a movie, my goal is not just to re-create the past but to imagine it as if I were a person living in that world. Fellini always told me, 'Don't just copy. Don't be afraid to use your imagination.'"

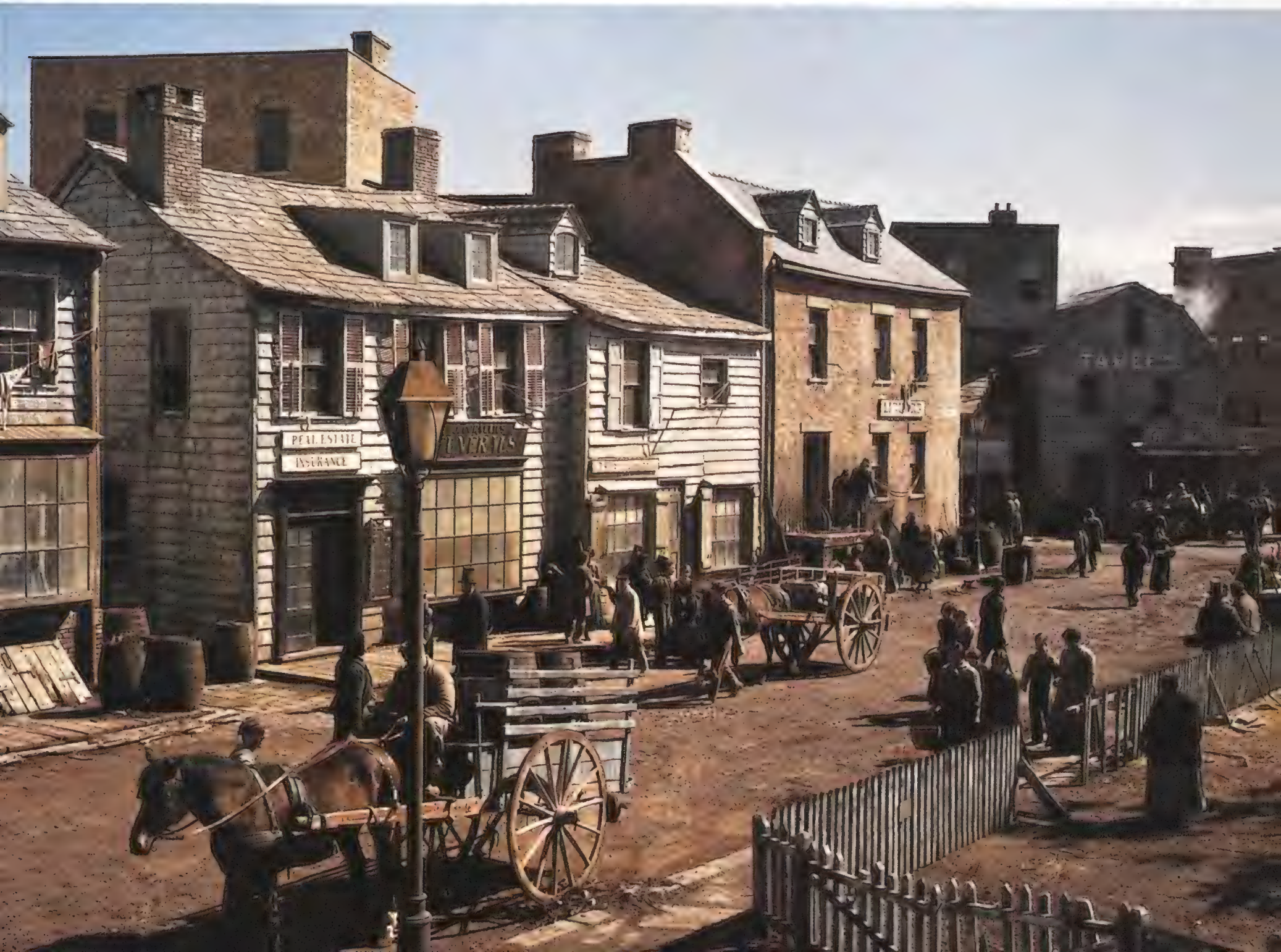
Costume designer Sandy Powell faced the challenge of dressing actors who, for the most part, portray an impoverished and largely unwashed underclass who were often too poor to own more than a single suit of clothes. "They wore what they had, and what they had was often filthy," says Powell. "The clothing was often found, or stolen."

Equal concern for authenticity was expended on the speech of characters, whose loyalties were often revealed by their accents. In search of lost speech patterns, dialect coach Tim Monich studied old poems, ballads and newspaper articles (which sometimes reproduced spoken dialect as a form of humor). He also consulted *The Rogue's Lexicon*, a book of underworld idioms compiled in 1859 by a former New York City police chief who was fascinated by the inner life of the gangs. A key piece of evidence was a rare 1892 wax recording of Walt Whitman reciting four lines from *Leaves of Grass*. On it, the poet pronounces "world" as "woild," and the "a" of "an" nasal and flat, like "ayan." Monich concluded that native 19th-century New Yorkers sounded something like Brooklyn cabbies of the mid-20th. Actors were allowed to employ 19th-century slang (for example, "chump," meaning dolt, was already in use). They were told, however, to replace "dope fiend" with "hop fiend" and to substitute "lime juicers" for "limeys" when insulting Americans of British heritage. When Liam Neeson, who plays a gang leader, mocked his rivals as "Nancy Boys," or sissies, a term still used in Ballymena, Neeson's Northern Ireland hometown, Monich informed him that New York hooligans would have called them "Miss Nancies."

MOST OF THE FILM'S action takes place around the seething Five Points slum, then a paramount symbol of anarchy, violence and urban hopelessness. About 1830, the New York *Mirror* described the area as a "loathsome den of murderers, thieves, abandoned women, ruined children, filth, drunkenness, and broils [brawls]." Around the same time, George Catlin, the artist best known for his portraits of Indians on the Great Plains (see "George Catlin's Obsession," p. 70), painted the Five Points district, depicting a riotous scene of brawling drunks, leering prostitutes and intermingled races. To most Americans, the very name itself suggested unspeakable wickedness and sin. Individual tenements acquired monikers like the Gates of Hell or Brickbat Mansion. The most notorious hellhole of all, and a key setting for the film, was a cavernous abandoned brewery turned tenement. Here, a population of several hundred, the poorest of Irish immigrants and African-Americans, lived under unspeakable conditions. Prostitutes plied their trade openly in a single vast chamber, known as the Den of Thieves. Beneath the basement's earthen floor, the dead, too destitute even for a proper

MRS. SCREVEN LORILLARD COLLECTION; BRIGITTE LACOMBE; P. 49 BROWN BROTHERS; MARIO TURSI / MIRAMAX FILMS; BRIGITTE LACOMBE

The film's designers relied on actual images of the saloon- and brothel-filled Lower Manhattan neighborhood (at left, c. 1867, and as re-created, bottom), where new Irish immigrants faced off against better-established nativists. (Daniel Day-Lewis and Leonardo DiCaprio, below, star in the film.) In 1873, a reporter wrote of Five Points: "The very letters of the two words seem to redden with the bloodstains of unavenged crime. There is Murder in every syllable, and Misery and Pestilence. . . ."



burial, were sometimes interred. Everywhere in the neighborhood, lanes ran thick with a soup of rotting garbage and human waste; pigs and other animals foraged in the fetid byways. "Saturate your handkerchief with camphor, so that you can endure the horrid stench," visitors were advised by one 19th-century temperance worker.

For Charles Dickens, who visited New York in 1842, the Five Points was a real-life hell, where human beings with "coarse and bloated faces" were barely distinguishable from animals. "From every corner as you glance about you in these dark retreats," he wrote in *American Notes*, "some figure crawls half-awakened, as if the judgement-hour were near at hand, and every obscure grave were giving up its dead. Where dogs would howl to lie, women, and men, and boys slink off to sleep, forcing the dislodged rats to move away in quest of better lodgings."

Until the early 1800s, New York City had been a comparatively staid and conservative town, whose northern limits barely extended beyond modern Wall Street. (As late as the 1810s, cows grazed where New York's City Hall now stands.) But by the 1830s, the city had expanded north to Greenwich Village. As wave after wave of mostly Irish immigrants poured into the area, two- and three-story dormered town houses, until then the residences of merchants and middle-class craftsmen, were converted into tenements. There was no public sewage system, little police protection and no restriction on the number of people who could be packed into a single dwelling. In only 25 years, from 1830 to 1855, the population of the Five Points area nearly doubled. By then, first-generation immigrants accounted for 72 percent of the area's population. One outcome of this new, cruelly congested kind of city was the first American slum. Another was the street gang.

Muckraker Jacob Riis, who photographed these young criminals in custody c. 1890, helped bring poverty's costs to public attention. Children, he reported, were "thrown upon the street," where homeless boys fell in with thieves and muggers.

In *Low Life*, a 1991 study of New York's many overlapping 19th-century underworlds, journalist Luc Sante reports, "The basic unit of social life among young males in New York in the nineteenth century was (as it perhaps is still and ever more shall be) the gang." For "the Manhattan of the immigrants," he says, the gang served as "an important marker, a sort of social stake driven in," which allowed various ethnic groups to control a few blocks of a city in which they wielded very little real power. "They engaged in violence," writes Sante, "but violence was a normal part of life in their always-contested environment; turf war was a condition of the neighborhood."

Gangs specialized in everything from waterborne piracy to picking pockets, burglary and election fraud. Even more commonly they tried their hands at indiscriminate mayhem. One gang, for example, worked the Hudson River in rowboats, robbing ships at anchor. They were commanded by a fearsome Valkyrie known as Sadie the Goat, who at the height of a barroom brawl had an ear bitten off by the equally ferocious Gallus Mag, who earned her stripes as a bouncer at the Hole-in-the-Wall, a notorious bar. Thereafter, Sadie is said to have worn the missing anatomical feature in a locket around her neck. Hard-drinking sailors were especially popular targets. "Crimps" (meaning kidnappers) operated boardinghouses where seamen were regularly drugged, robbed and often murdered; in the 1860s, it was estimated that 15,000 sailors were mugged each year on Cherry Street alone. It was said that no well-dressed man, and certainly no woman, could venture safely off Broadway, even in the daylight. "If the gangsters could not lure a prospective victim into a dive, they followed him until he passed beneath an appointed window, from which a woman dumped a bucket of ashes on his head," wrote Asbury. "As he gasped and choked, the thugs rushed him into a cellar, where they killed him and stripped the clothing from his back, afterward casting his naked body upon the sidewalk."

For all their ferocity, some gangs had a well-developed sense of public relations. After a prolonged and bloody outbreak of fighting in 1857, the *New York Times* printed a notice that read: "We are requested by the Dead Rabbits to state that the Dead Rabbit club members are not thieves, that they did not participate in the riot with the Bowery Boys, and that the fight in Mulberry street was between the Roach Guards of Mulberry street and the Atlantic Guards of the Bowery. The Dead Rabbits are sensitive on points of honor, we are assured, and wouldn't allow a thief to live on their beat, much less be a member of their club."

As interpreted by actor Daniel Day-Lewis, Bill "the Butcher" Cutting, a violent character Scorsese based on Bill

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BULLISH on AMERICA

Riis also photographed the Short Tail Gang (c. 1890). These "dock rats," as he called them, preyed along the waterfront, robbing and murdering. Virtually every day, Riis reported during an illustrated lecture, "a body floats ashore with pockets turned inside out."

"the Butcher" Poole, a gang leader with nativist sympathies, remains a fundamentally ethical man. Cutting possesses a sense of dignity and of history. In the script, Cutting's father had been killed fighting the English in the War of 1812. The son fancies his hatred of foreigners to be a kind of patriotism and his combat with immigrants a defense of the values for which he believes his father died. "Judged by today's standards, he would be a psychotic," says Day-Lewis. "But I don't think that he was a rare species." Day-Lewis grew up in south London, where he remembers rival mobs of soccer supporters scheming to murder one another. "Cutting had learned how to live in the streets of his place and time," he adds. "He represents a very common experience, of a native-born man whose parents somehow managed to claw their way up to a position of self-respect. He has got a code of ethics, and he sees himself as continuing the good work that his father began. But people like him are under siege. Every time a boat unloads another load of 'savages,' if you are Bill Cutting, you feel you're going to lose another rung in the pecking order."

In real life, Bill Poole led a gang based around Christopher Street, in the heart of present-day Greenwich Village. Standing over six feet tall and weighing more than 200 pounds, Poole was, in Asbury's words, a "champion brawler and eye-gouger." One of his sidelines was providing muscle to nativist-leaning candidates during local elections. Poole developed a rivalry with an Irish-American prizefighter and gambler, John Morrissey, who would go on, through the patronage of the corrupt Democratic Party machine known as Tammany Hall, to become a state legislator and a Democratic member of the United States Congress. Morrissey, who was savagely beaten by Poole

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BULLISH on AMERICA

WHEN PIKER RYAN, A MEMBER OF THE WHYOS GANG, WAS ARRESTED IN THE LATE 1800S, HE WAS CARRYING A PRICE LIST OF CRIMES-FOR-HIRE.

when the boxer and his henchmen attacked a nativist clubhouse, vowed revenge.

The feud continued until 1855, when Poole met his end in a Broadway barroom. One of Morrissey's hoodlums, Lew Baker, shot him with a long-barreled Colt. Though fatally wounded, Poole managed to seize a carving knife and lurch for his assailant before he died. Baker fled on a ship bound for the Canary Islands, but was intercepted by a private yacht, dispatched by one of Poole's wealthy cronies, and carried back to New York. Tried for murder along with Morrissey, he ultimately went free after three separate juries failed to reach a consensus, despite several eyewitnesses to Poole's assassination—proof of how firmly the city was in the grip of Tammany's minions. Melodramas celebrating Poole as a local folk hero soon appeared. The productions invariably ended with an actor draped in an American flag, gasping out Poole's alleged farewell to his cronies: "Goodbye, boys, I die a true American!"

Although Scorsese's film concludes with the 1863 draft riots, which marked an end to one phase of violent conflict in the city's streets, gangs continued to flourish long after the Civil War. The gangsters of the later 1800s reflected America's changed society. George Leonidas Leslie, believed to have masterminded 80 percent of the bank robberies committed in New York from 1874 to 1885, was a college graduate, while 250-pound Marm Mandelbaum lived comfortably in her Lower East Side apartment, from which she ran a school for pickpockets.

In 1863, federal troops had to put down anti-conscription riots that raged across Manhattan and ended one chapter in the gang conflict. As many as 100 people were killed; 12 African-Americans were lynched.

In comparison with the tribal mayhem of the mid-19th century, the Italian-American mafia, as it rose to power in the 1890s, was positively corporate in its structure, built on complex hierarchies and entrepreneurial sophistication. But mafiosi were not the only outlaws demonstrating a head for business. When a bruiser named Piker Ryan, a member of the fearsome Whyos gang, was arrested by the police in the late 1800s, he was found to be carrying a presumably market-tested price list of crimes-for-hire, including:

Punching. . . $2
Both eyes blacked. . . $4
Ear chawed off. . . $15
Stab. . . $25
Doing the big job. . . $100 and up

By the 1890s, Manhattan's meanest streets had been so tamed that middle-class tourists were taking midnight tours of Bowery dives. The old underworld had become, in part, a caricature of itself. Some Bowery haunts remade themselves into tourist traps, morphing into a kind of low-life Disneyland, designed to titillate with staged scenes of opium smoking and tableaux depicting "white slavery" in the "depths" of Chinatown. One celebrated barkeep, Steve Brodie, paid his regulars to impersonate the lowlifes whom "slummers" yearned to glimpse. For a time, Brodie actually played himself onstage as the quintessential Bowery denizen. It was one more reflection of the entertainment industry's love affair with New York's underworld, a fascination that would continue through the hard-boiled gangster films of Jimmy Cagney to the blood-soaked realism of Scorsese's latest endeavor.

Although nearly every trace of the world that Scorsese has re-created has long since been obliterated, there are a few exceptions. At 42 Bowery, an address claimed by some to be the former clubhouse of the Bowery Boys, a Chinese restaurant now stands. Several blocks of Bayard Street, where the Bowery Boys and the Dead Rabbits brawled in the 1850s, remain much the same. In Five Points, which includes a section of modern Chinatown, small children clamber over jungle gyms in a public park. If the ghosts of the thugs and mayhem artists, the murderers and pickpockets, the embattled nativists and desperate immigrants still linger, their murmurings are lost among the voices of today's New Yorkers, chattering to each other in half a dozen dialects of Chinese, in Haitian French, Spanish, and even the slurry tones of the durable old New Yorkese that Bill the Butcher would have recognized. ○

Writer Fergus M. Bordewich's great-grandfather was, as a young man, a gang member on the streets of 19th-century New York.

MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

When I find something that really works, I stick with it. And it looks like I've got lots of company.

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ZOCOR is an effective medicine that along with diet and exercise can significantly lower total cholesterol. A clinical study among people with high cholesterol and heart disease found 42% fewer deaths from heart attack among those taking ZOCOR.* One tablet, taken once a day, can help people with high cholesterol and heart disease live a longer, healthier life.

Important considerations: ZOCOR is a prescription medicine and isn't right for everyone, including women who are nursing or pregnant or who may become pregnant, anyone with liver problems, and people who are allergic to any ingredients of ZOCOR. Unexplained muscle pain or weakness could be a sign of a rare but serious side effect and should be reported to your doctor right away. Your doctor may do blood tests before and during treatment with ZOCOR to check for liver problems. To avoid serious side effects, discuss with your doctor medicine or food you should avoid while on ZOCOR (see details immediately following this ad).

When diet and exercise are not enough, ask your doctor if ZOCOR is right for you. For more information and the free *Guide for Managing High Cholesterol*, call 1-800-MERCK-75 or visit *zocor.com*.

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*42% reduction based on 111/2,221 (ZOCOR) vs 189/2,223 (placebo).

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USES OF ZOCOR

ZOCOR is a prescription drug that is indicated as an addition to diet for many patients with high cholesterol when diet and exercise are inadequate. For patients with coronary heart disease (CHD) and high cholesterol, ZOCOR is indicated as an addition to diet to reduce the risk of death by reducing coronary death; to reduce the risk of heart attack; to reduce the risk for undergoing cardiac procedures (coronary artery bypass grafting and percutaneous transluminal coronary angioplasty); and to reduce the risk of stroke or transient ischemic attack (TIA).

WHEN ZOCOR SHOULD NOT BE USED

Some people should not take ZOCOR. Discuss this with your doctor.

ZOCOR should not be used by patients who are allergic to any of its ingredients. In addition to the active ingredient simvastatin, each tablet contains the following inactive ingredients: cellulose, lactose, magnesium stearate, iron oxides, talc, titanium dioxide, and starch. Butylated hydroxyanisole is added as a preservative.

Patients with liver problems: ZOCOR should not be used by patients with active liver disease or repeated blood test results indicating possible liver problems. (See WARNINGS.)

Women who are or may become pregnant: Pregnant women should not take ZOCOR because it may harm the fetus. **Women of childbearing age should not take ZOCOR unless it is highly unlikely that they will become pregnant.** If a woman does become pregnant while on ZOCOR, she should stop taking the drug and talk to her doctor at once.

Women who are breast-feeding should not take ZOCOR.

WARNINGS

Muscle: Tell your doctor right away if you experience any unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness at any time during treatment with ZOCOR so your doctor can decide *if ZOCOR should be stopped. Some patients may have muscle pain or weakness while taking* ZOCOR. Rarely, this can include muscle breakdown resulting in kidney damage. The risk of *muscle breakdown is greater in patients taking certain other drugs along with* ZOCOR:

- **Cyclosporine, itraconazole, ketoconazole, erythromycin, clarithromycin, HIV protease *inhibitors, the antidepressant nefazodone, or large quantities of grapefruit juice* (>1 quart daily), particularly with higher doses of ZOCOR.**
- **Gemfibrozil, other fibrates, or lipid-lowering doses (≥1 g/day) of niacin, particularly with higher doses of ZOCOR.**
- **Amiodarone or verapamil with higher doses of ZOCOR.**

The risk of muscle breakdown is greater at higher doses of simvastatin.

Because the risk of muscle side effects is greater when ZOCOR is used with the products listed above, the combined use of these products should be avoided unless your doctor determines the benefits are likely to outweigh the increased risks.

If your doctor determines that the benefits of combined use of ZOCOR with gemfibrozil, other fibrates, or niacin likely outweigh the increased risk of muscle problems, the dose of ZOCOR should not exceed 10 mg daily. No more than 10 mg/day of ZOCOR should be taken with cyclosporine.

The combined use of verapamil or amiodarone with doses above ZOCOR 20 mg should be avoided unless your doctor determines the benefits outweigh the increased risk of muscle breakdown.

***Your doctor should also carefully monitor for any muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness,* particularly during the initial months of therapy and if the dose of either drug is increased. Your doctor also may monitor the level of certain muscle enzymes in your body, but there is no assurance that such monitoring will prevent the occurrence of severe muscle disease.**

The risk of muscle breakdown is greater in patients with kidney problems or diabetes.

If you have conditions that can increase your risk of muscle breakdown, which in turn can cause kidney damage, your doctor should temporarily withhold or stop ZOCOR. Also, since there are no known adverse consequences of briefly stopping therapy with ZOCOR, treatment *should be stopped a few days before elective major surgery and when any major acute* medical or surgical condition occurs. Discuss this with your doctor, who can explain these conditions to you.

Liver: About 1% of patients who took ZOCOR in clinical trials developed elevated levels of *some liver enzymes.* *Patients who had these increases usually had no symptoms. Elevated liver enzymes* usually returned to normal levels when therapy with ZOCOR was stopped.

In the ZOCOR Survival Study, the number of patients with more than 1 liver enzyme level elevation to greater than 3 times the normal upper limit was no different between the ZOCOR and placebo groups. Only 8 patients on ZOCOR and 5 on placebo discontinued therapy due to elevated liver enzyme levels. Patients were started on 20 mg of ZOCOR, and one third had their dose raised to 40 mg.

Your doctor should perform routine blood tests to check these enzymes before you start treatment with ZOCOR and periodically thereafter (for example, semiannually) for your first year of treatment or until 1 year after your last elevation in dose. Patients titrated to the 80-mg dose should receive an additional test at 3 months. If your enzyme levels increase, your doctor *should order more frequent tests. If your liver enzyme levels remain unusually high, your doctor should* discontinue your medication.

*Tell your doctor about any liver disease you may have had in the past and about how much alcohol you con-*sume. ZOCOR should be used with caution in patients who consume large amounts of alcohol.

PRECAUTIONS

Before starting treatment with ZOCOR, try to lower your cholesterol by other methods such as diet, exercise, and weight loss. Ask your doctor about how best to do this. Any other medical problems that can cause high cholesterol should also be treated.

Drug Interactions: Because of possible serious drug interactions, it is important to tell your doctor what other drugs you are taking, including those obtained without a prescription. You should also tell other doctors who are prescribing a new medicine for you that you are taking ZOCOR® (simvastatin).

ZOCOR can interact with the following:

- Itraconazole
- Ketoconazole
- Erythromycin
- Clarithromycin
- HIV protease inhibitors
- Nefazodone
- Cyclosporine
- Large quantities of grapefruit juice (>1 quart daily)

The risk of myopathy is also increased by the following lipid-lowering drugs that can cause myopathy when given alone:

- Gemfibrozil
- Other fibrates
- Niacin (nicotinic acid) (≥1 g/day)

The risk of muscle breakdown is increased with other drugs:

- Amiodarone
- Verapamil

Some patients taking lipid-lowering agents similar to ZOCOR and coumarin anticoagulants (a type of blood thinner) have experienced bleeding and/or increased blood clotting time. Patients taking these medicines should have their blood tested before starting therapy with ZOCOR and should continue to be monitored.

Central Nervous System Toxicity; Cancer, Mutations, Impairment of Fertility: Like most prescription drugs, ZOCOR was required to be tested on animals before it was marketed for human use. Often these tests were designed to achieve higher drug concentrations than humans achieve at recommended dosing. In some tests, the animals had damage to the nerves in the central nervous system. In studies of mice with high doses of ZOCOR, the likelihood of certain types of cancerous tumors increased. No evidence of mutations of or damage to genetic material has been seen. In 1 study with ZOCOR, there was decreased fertility in male rats.

Pregnancy: Pregnant women should not take ZOCOR because it may harm the fetus.

Safety in pregnancy has not been established. *In studies with lipid-lowering agents similar to ZOCOR, there have* been rare reports of birth defects of the skeleton and digestive system. Therefore, women of childbearing age should not take ZOCOR unless it is highly unlikely they will become pregnant. If a woman does become pregnant while taking ZOCOR, she should stop taking the drug and talk to her doctor at once. The active ingredient of ZOCOR did not cause birth defects in rats at 3 times the human dose or in rabbits at 3 times the human dose.

Nursing Mothers: Drugs taken by nursing mothers may be present in their breast milk. Because of the potential for serious adverse reactions in nursing infants, a woman taking ZOCOR should not breast-feed. (See WHEN ZOCOR SHOULD NOT BE USED.)

Pediatric Use: *ZOCOR is not recommended for children or patients under 20 years of age.*

Geriatric Use: Higher blood levels of active drug were seen in elderly patients (70–78 years of age) compared with younger patients (18–30 years of age) in 1 study. *In other studies, the cholesterol-lowering effects* of ZOCOR were at least as great in elderly patients as in younger patients, and there were no overall differences in safety between elderly and younger patients over the 20–80 mg/day dosage range.

SIDE EFFECTS

Most patients tolerate treatment with ZOCOR well; however, like all prescription drugs, ZOCOR can cause side effects, and some of them can be serious. Side effects that do occur are usually mild and short-lived. Only your doctor can weigh the risks versus the benefits of any prescription drug. In clinical studies with ZOCOR, less than 1.5% of patients dropped out of the studies because of side effects. In a large, long-term study, patients taking ZOCOR experienced similar side effects to those patients taking placebo (sugar pills). Some of the side effects that have been reported with ZOCOR or related drugs are listed below. This list is not complete. Be sure to ask your doctor about side effects before taking ZOCOR and to discuss any side effects that occur.

Digestive System: Constipation, diarrhea, upset stomach, gas, heartburn, stomach pain/cramps, anorexia, loss of appetite, nausea, inflammation of the pancreas, hepatitis, jaundice, fatty changes in the liver, and, rarely, severe liver damage and failure, cirrhosis, and liver cancer.

Muscle, Skeletal: Muscle cramps, aches, pain, and weakness; joint pain; muscle breakdown.

Nervous System: Dizziness, headache, insomnia, tingling, memory loss, damage to nerves causing weakness and/or loss of sensation and/or abnormal sensations, anxiety, depression, tremor, loss of balance, psychic disturbances.

Skin: Rash, itching, hair loss, dryness, nodules, discoloration.

Eye/Senses: Blurred vision, altered taste sensation, progression of cataracts, eye muscle weakness.

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BETTING ON *SEABISCUIT*

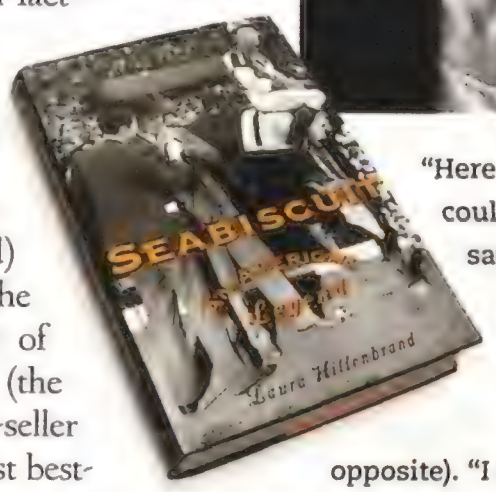
Laura Hillenbrand beat the odds to write the hit horse-racing saga while fighting chronic fatigue syndrome, a mysterious disorder starting to yield its secrets BY LARRY KATZENSTEIN

LAURA HILLENBRAND DOES NOT keep the pell-mell schedule that one might expect of a newly crowned literary lioness. The author of *Seabiscuit: An American Legend*, the unlikely page-turner about the ungainly racehorse that became a long-shot champion, is busy consulting on a Seabiscuit movie, which began production in Kentucky this past fall. But to Hillenbrand, 35, who lives in Washington, D.C., "busy" doesn't mean what it does to most people. To her it means talking on the phone. She receives scores of invitations every month to appear at bookstores or give speeches or write articles—and declines almost all of them. On some days, she doesn't have the strength to leave her house, and therein lies another tale of long odds, perseverance and unexpected fame.

Hillenbrand is afflicted with chronic fatigue syndrome, a disorder marked by physical and mental exhaustion, recurring aches and fleeting fevers. She came down with it 15 years ago—remembers the day it struck, in fact—and was bedridden off and on for six years. She toiled on *Seabiscuit* for four years, often keeping a box of breakfast cereal close at hand so she wouldn't have to waste precious energy walking to the kitchen, sometimes writing (in longhand) with her eyes closed to stop the vertigo. The book, a chronicle of the racetrack world of 1930s America, has so captivated readers (the hardcover was a No. 1 *New York Times* best-seller last year, and the paperback remains on most best-seller lists) that the news of what she overcame to create it has transformed Hillenbrand into a leading spokesperson for victims of chronic fatigue syndrome, or CFS.

"As I lay in bed over the years, I wished that somebody prominent would go out and make an articulate case for CFS patients," she says. "So when *Seabiscuit*'s success gave me the opportunity to take on that role, I thought, OK, that's what I'm going to try to do."

To people with the disorder, many of whom have been misdiagnosed or even stigmatized as malingerers, Hillenbrand's candor has been a godsend. "Laura has told her story so graciously and compellingly," says Kim Kenney, head of the Chronic Fatigue and Immune Dysfunction Syndrome Association of America, a patients' group. "Her triumph has not only inspired patients but has really made a difference in helping the public understand what people with this illness have to go through."



"Here was a story I could get lost in," says the author (just before falling ill in 1987, above, and today, opposite). "I rallied all my reserves to get this done."

Hillenbrand's willingness to serve as the poster child for chronic fatigue syndrome coincides with other welcome developments, including new thinking about its causes. Though a cure for the syndrome does not exist, researchers have recently

BORDEN FLANAGAN; DAVID STERLING; P. 58 RON HOLTZ

amassed evidence that counseling and supervised exercise therapy can often help patients. Perhaps most impressive, medical researchers at the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta are working on the first test for screening and possibly diagnosing the syndrome. Says Dr. William Reeves, who directs chronic fatigue syndrome research at the CDC: "The field is progressing quite rapidly."

IT ALL BEGAN FOR HILLENBRAND the evening of March 20, 1987. She was then a sophomore at Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio, a straight-A student with hopes of becoming a history professor. She had always been active, riding horses since age 5, swimming competitively (100-meter backstroke) in her suburban Maryland high school, biking and playing tennis in college. She'd eaten at a restaurant that day, and by nightfall was doubled over with pain—food poisoning, she figures. "I was so sick we called paramedics," she says. For three weeks she was miserable, then awoke and couldn't sit up. "Even if the building had been burning down, I wouldn't have been able to get out of bed," she says. She returned home to Bethesda, the Washington, D.C. suburb where she grew up, and spent the next two years virtually bedridden.

Frustration with medical practice is a frequent side effect of chronic fatigue syndrome, and Hillenbrand would see seven internists and numerous specialists who attributed her illness to Epstein-Barr virus infection, a sinus infection, bulimia and, though she was 20, the onset of puberty. Some said the problem was all in her head. "'Couldn't handle school so dropped out,'" she says one physician noted. Looking back, Hillenbrand says she doesn't blame the doctors for not identifying her illness, given that so little was known about it at the time. "But I do blame them for making assumptions about my character and implying that I was somehow responsible for this illness."

Like Hillenbrand (who at 15 competed on Double Fault), many patients with chronic fatigue syndrome were previously active.

Finally, a physician at the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine in Baltimore diagnosed her correctly. She recovered somewhat and started working as a freelance magazine writer, often covering horse racing. In some ways, her experience was typical: about half of chronic fatigue patients recover significantly within the first five years of succumbing, according to the CDC. Overall, though, Hillenbrand's illness has been more severe than most cases, she says. In 1991, she had a relapse, becoming even sicker than before. "I spent two straight years lying in bed staring at the ceiling," Hillenbrand says.

IN NEARLY TWO DECADES of searching for the cause of chronic fatigue syndrome, researchers have turned up no definitive answer; some believe that the disorder has multiple causes, perhaps as heart disease does. But there are leads. The 1980s-era theory that chronic fatigue syndrome was caused directly by the Epstein-Barr virus, the infectious agent behind the fatiguing disorder known as mononucleosis, has turned out to be partially true. That virus and others seem to play an indirect role in the disease. In a study of 250 Londoners with either mononucleosis or an upper respiratory tract infection, 9 percent of the mono patients were diagnosed with chronic fatigue syndrome six months after first becoming ill, whereas none of the patients with upper respiratory tract infections developed the affliction. The study, led by researchers at St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London and published last year in the *Lancet*, is the first conclusive evidence that a viral infection can trigger chronic fatigue syndrome.

In addition to infectious mononucleosis, studies suggest that two other infectious illnesses—Q fever and Ross River virus—can lead to chronic fatigue syndrome. To learn more about the risk factors that make people susceptible to chronic fatigue syndrome, the CDC is funding a study that will track patients in the Australian state of New South Wales who contract Q fever, Ross River virus or infectious mononucleosis.

But infectious agents may not be the only culprits. Peter Rowe, a pediatrician and director of the chronic fatigue syndrome clinic at Johns Hopkins Children's Center, has documented that some young people who developed the syndrome also have a disorder called neurally mediated hypotension; their blood pressure plunges after they've been standing for several minutes, leading to dizziness, weakness and, over time, exhaustion. Other medical researchers have failed to find the same link between bouts of low blood pressure and chronic fatigue syndrome, but Rowe remains convinced it's a factor in some cases and says he has given such patients blood-pressure-regulating drugs with good effect. Likewise, Rowe and other researchers have argued that a heart rate abnormality, postural tachycardia syndrome, in which a racing heart causes light-headedness, may also be involved in chronic fatigue syndrome.

Even though the disorder has been recognized only fairly recently as a clinical entity—the CDC officially defined

SUSAN HILLENBRAND

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"It becomes a very lonely fight when you're suffering and can't get people to believe you're really sick," says Hillenbrand, whose bed was often her home office. "I even had family members who said, 'Shouldn't you just be seeing a psychiatrist?'"

chronic fatigue syndrome in 1988—it probably isn't new to humanity. Physicians and historians of medicine say it closely resembles neurasthenia, a so-called nervous exhaustion that was one of the most commonly diagnosed conditions in the United States and Europe in the second half of the 19th century.

"If you read the descriptions of neurasthenia in 1880 in journals, textbooks and the diaries and letters of patients, you would be in no doubt that what they're describing is chronic fatigue syndrome," says Dr. Simon Wessely, a London psychiatrist and coauthor of the 1998 book *Chronic Fatigue and its Syndromes*. But neurasthenia, originally thought to be caused by infection or overwork, fell out of favor as a diagnosis before World War I, largely because doctors failed to find a concrete reason for it.

Historically, says DePaul University psychologist Leonard Jason, physicians have treated many mysterious chronic illnesses as psychological problems. For example, some experts once thought multiple sclerosis was caused by "stress linked to oedipal fantasies," he says. "But later, with the development of sophisticated imaging technologies, researchers showed clearly that MS is a neurological disease that has a physical cause." Similarly, he predicts, advances will reveal that "physical causes also underlie most cases of CFS."

One of the most surprising findings is that chronic fatigue syndrome appears to be 100 times more common than many experts previously believed. In a study led by DePaul's Jason, researchers surveyed some 18,000 people in Chicago by phone, then gave medical exams to respon-

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dents who reported chronic fatigue symptoms: 4 out of every 1,000 people surveyed had the affliction, leading to an estimate of more than 800,000 cases nationwide. And contrary to the stereotype of the disorder as an affliction of well-to-do young whites—"the Yuppie flu," it was once dismissively called—the researchers found that the syndrome was most prevalent among the minorities and lower-income people surveyed. Also, nearly two out of three cases had no prior history of psychiatric problems, contradicting the widespread view that chronic fatigue syndrome is really just a symptom of an underlying mood disorder such as depression or anxiety. A notable feature of the disorder's prevalence is its pronounced sex bias. More than two out of three chronic fatigue patients are women. Researchers don't know why.

IT'S PERHAPS NOT SURPRISING that Hillenbrand, leveled by chronic fatigue syndrome, would relish delving into Thoroughbred racing, a world of explosive energy and thunderous speed. And *Seabiscuit* is, above all, a story of redemption. The horse toiled in claiming races—the lowest rung on the racing ladder—until a laconic, former mustang breaker named Tom Smith saw something special in the squat animal and trained him to become one of the greatest racehorses of the century. Seabiscuit's owner, Charles Howard, was a San Francisco bicycle repairman who became a millionaire car salesman. And a half-blind, flat broke and presumably washed-up Canadian named Red Pollard rode the race horse into history. In 1938, Seabiscuit was America's leading newsmaker, beating out President Roosevelt and Mussolini in total inches of news stories devoted to him.

Psychiatrist Simon Wessely stays out of the debate over the syndrome's cause, advising counseling and exercise therapy.

"Here was a story I could get lost in, with fascinating subjects whose lives were complicated and vigorous—everything my life wasn't," says Hillenbrand. "Writing it helped me redefine myself, to become Laura the author instead of Laura the sick person. That was very rewarding."

Over four years, she did little besides work on the book. Each day, she meted out her limited store of energy, calculating whether a trip to the pantry or the bathroom was worth the expenditure. Her morning shower flattened her, she says. In her small home office, she kept everything within arm's reach, including a small refrigerator. Still, she did 150 phone interviews, transcribing each one herself.

In a passage of *Seabiscuit* that seemingly betrays the presence of the author's own struggles, Hillenbrand writes that "for all its miseries, there was an unmistakable allure to the jockey's craft," and goes on to say: "Man is preoccupied with freedom yet laden with handicaps. The breadth of his activity and experience is narrowed by the limitations of his relatively weak, sluggish body. The racehorse, by virtue of his awesome physical gifts, freed the jockey from himself. . . . For the jockey, the saddle was a place of unparalleled exhilaration, of transcendence."

Writing *Seabiscuit* was Hillenbrand's transcendence. And like the once-downtrodden Thoroughbred, she became a star. Critics poured praise on the book, which became an instant best-seller, garnered awards and was celebrated as one of the favorite books of 2001.

But her success came at a price. "The day after I turned in my manuscript, my health collapsed," says Hillenbrand. "You want so much to defy this illness and live on your own terms. I hoped I could get away with it, but I couldn't." Debilitating symptoms of chronic fatigue, and the devastating vertigo that accompanied them, had returned with a vengeance.

MEDICAL RESEARCHERS HAVE long sought a reliable diagnostic test for chronic fatigue syndrome, which a physician can identify only after ruling out the many other possible causes of severe fatigue. Now CDC researchers may be on the verge of developing such a test, based on analyzing patients' genetic material.

Essentially, the researchers have found that chronic fatigue syndrome prompts a complex physiological response that leads to a telltale pattern in gene output. They extracted from the patients' blood cells the intermediate genetic material known as messenger RNA, which is produced when genes are instructing cells to grow, divide, fend off an invader or otherwise be active. Using a recently developed technology called gene expression microarrays, the researchers tested the patients' RNA, inferring from it which genes had been active—that is, "expressing" their genetic code, as scientists say. The technique enables scientists to probe for tens of thousands of genes simultaneously and determine which ones are active, or "on," and which are inactive, or "off." Chronic fatigue syndrome, the CDC researchers speculate, might yield a sort of genetic signature, a pattern of the genes' expression.

Analyzing blood samples from chronic fatigue syndrome patients and healthy people in the Atlanta area,

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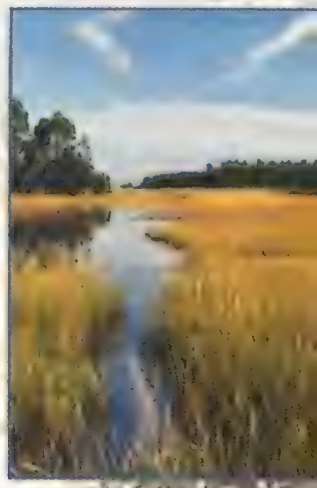

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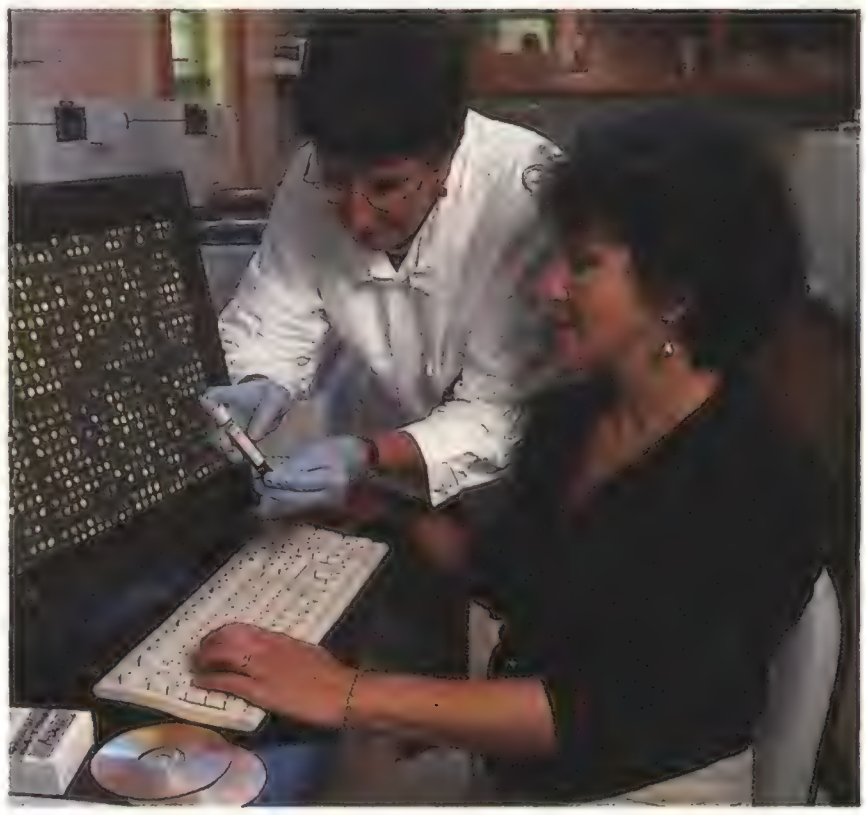
the researchers posed a simple question: Could the genetic tool tell the difference between the samples? "The answer is: yes, it can," says Suzanne Vernon, a molecular epidemiologist and the study's lead researcher. She cautions that more work is needed to confirm the findings in other populations, for example. But she says the results are "very exciting," and she predicts that microarrays will someday routinely diagnose chronic fatigue syndrome, whatever the underlying cause.

"Most CFS experts would agree that there may be several subcategories of [the disorder]—due to an infectious agent or to stress and so forth," says Vernon. "I anticipate seeing an underlying gene-expression pattern common to all CFS patients but, in addition, some unique genes expressed that correspond to each subgroup."

Treatment research has recently focused on two behavioral therapies, one for the mind, another for the body. In graded-exercise therapy, patients, under supervision, are encouraged to gradually increase their activity level—beginning with a two-minute walk, for example, and then lengthening their workouts by a couple of minutes each day. The idea is to increase stamina without risking the overexertion that can be so devastating. Three studies on graded-exercise therapy, all published since 1996, found that many patients participating in exercise programs felt better, and some even regained their former levels of physical activity.

At Johns Hopkins, Rowe noticed that many of his chronic fatigue syndrome patients had unexpected stiffness and a limited range of movement. So on 100 or so of them, he says, he has tried manual therapy in which a physical therapist gently moves a patient's limbs and body to restore normal movement before encouraging her to resume physical activity. "As the patients' mobility has increased," he says, "their symptoms have diminished, and many of them now can even exercise without suffering relapses."



Suzanne Vernon, right, and Toni Whistler research patients' gene activity patterns, displayed, for a possible diagnostic test.

The other approach is cognitive behavioral therapy—counseling that focuses on the psychological and social problems that patients often develop while trying to cope with the affliction, including depression, frustration, social withdrawal and feelings of helplessness. Cognitive behavioral therapy aims at helping patients gain control over their symptoms.

Wessely, the London-based psychiatrist and author, says graded-exercise therapy and cognitive behavioral therapy have helped some chronic fatigue patients for many months and even years beyond the initial treatment period. "They're the best treatment approaches that we have now," he says.

But some patient advocates have criticized the behavioral approach, saying it trivializes the affliction as psychological in origin. Kenney, of the CFS patients' group, cautions that patients can't just exercise the disorder away and may harm themselves if they carelessly try to do so. Wessely points out that the behavioral treatments have also helped people with clearly physical illnesses such as cancer and arthritis and insists that whether the cause of chronic fatigue syndrome is physical or psychological doesn't matter.

"We always tell patients truthfully that we don't know what caused their [chronic fatigue syndrome]—maybe they were stressed, maybe it was a virus. We say it's like being in a hit-and-run accident: it's happened, and that's tough. Now, what can we do about it? We know that psychological factors such as depression can affect the outcome and so can physical factors like inactivity. And those we can change."

HILLENBRAND HAS BEGUN seeing a therapist who takes a cognitive behavioral approach. "We're talking about how I'm perceiving the illness and what my expectations are," she says. "I don't think I went into the illness with these problems, but over the years of being traumatized by chronic fatigue syndrome, you develop problems that make it harder for you to recover from it. I'm feeling a bit better, and I think ultimately the treatment will help me."

What she'd really like to do—work on another book—isn't possible just now. "I absolutely destroyed myself in finishing *Seabiscuit*, and my ability to read and write is severely limited" because of chronic vertigo, she says. "I have ideas that I'm itching to turn into books, but I can't touch them."

Hillenbrand knew from the outset that writing *Seabiscuit* would jeopardize her health, but she has no regrets: "Whether it ruins me for good, writing this book was absolutely worth it. Every morning I woke up happy because I knew I was going to spend the day with these men and with this horse." ○

Larry Katzenstein is the author of the book Taking Charge of Arthritis: An Action Guide to Managing Your Health and Well-Being.

KATHRYN KOLB

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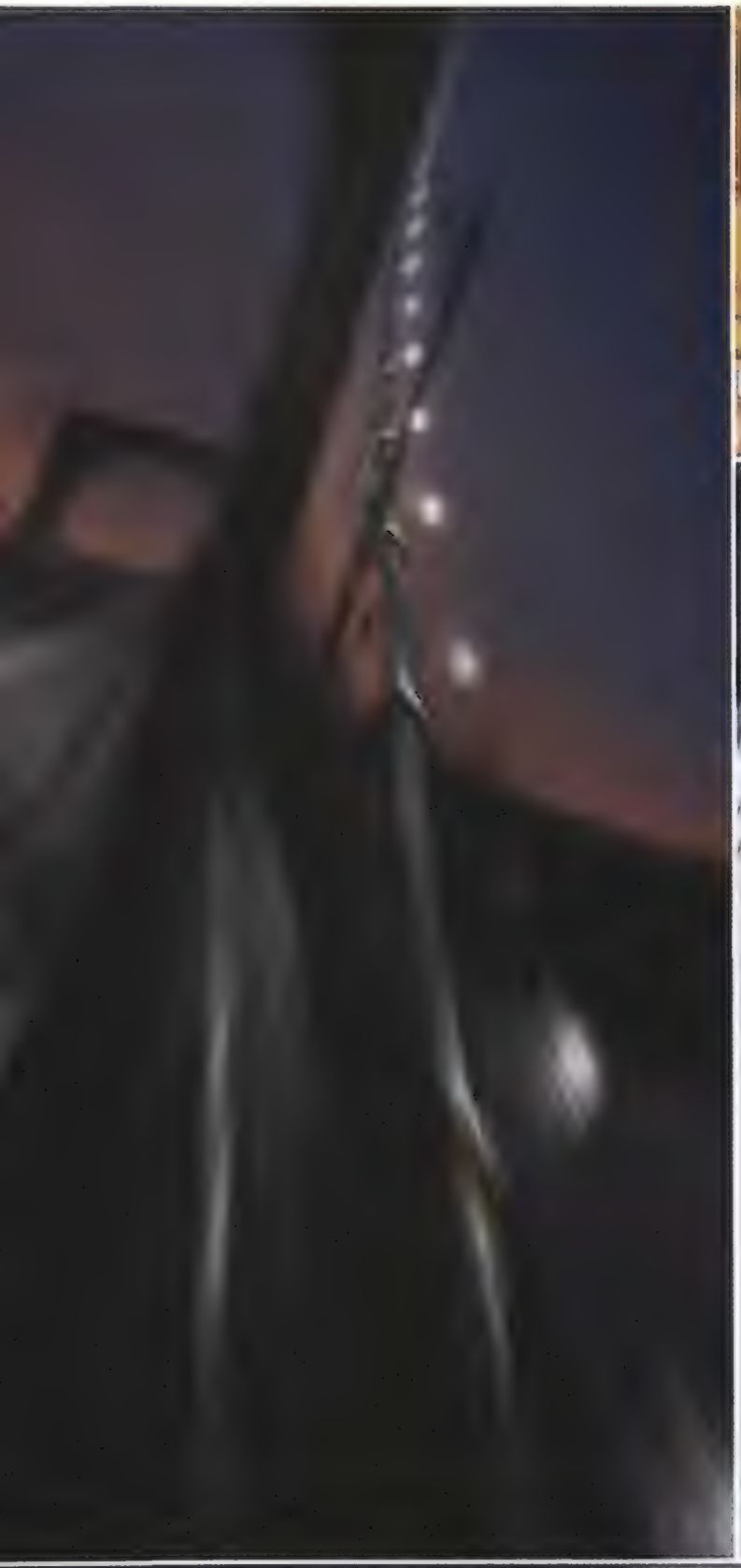


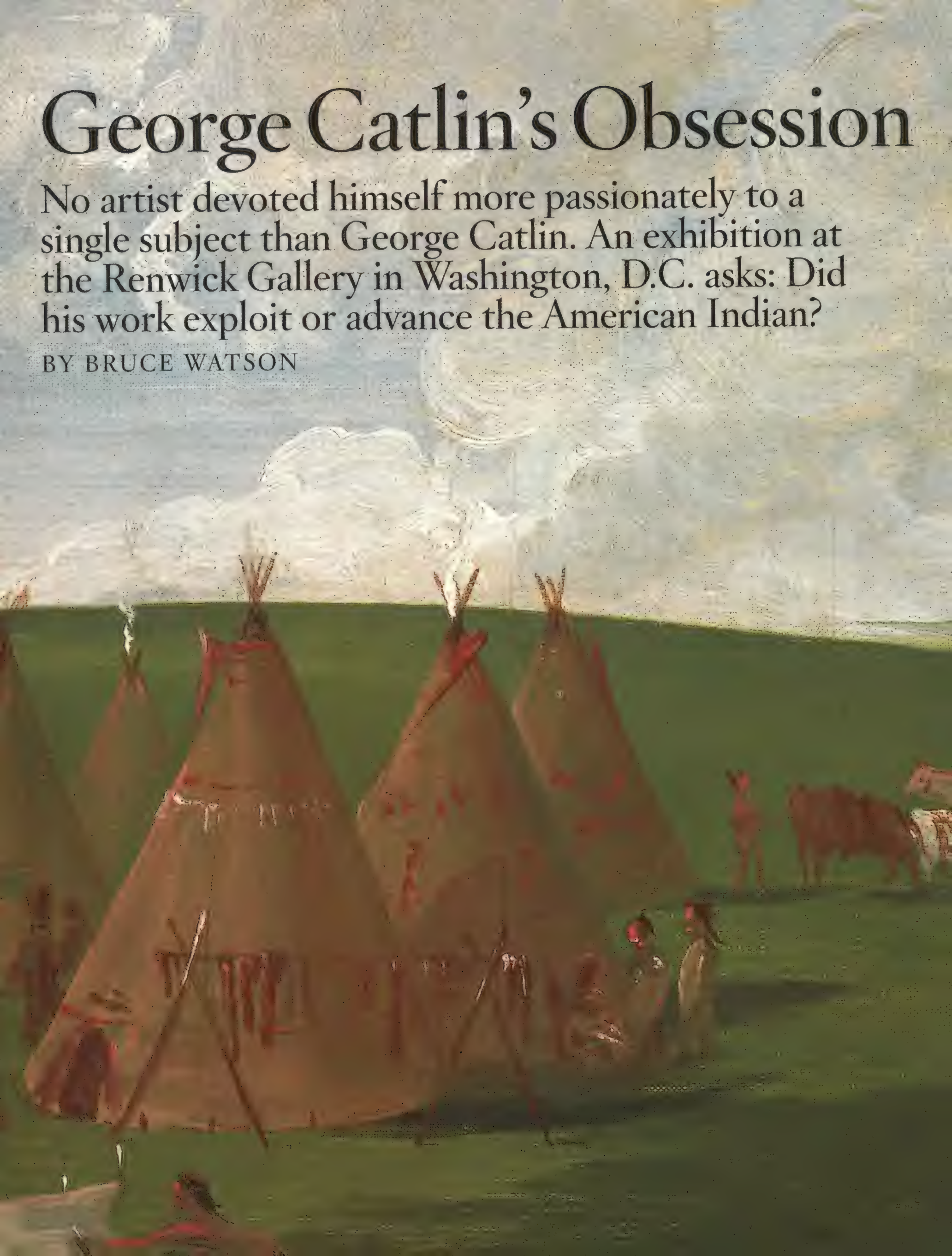
CHRYSLER

Drive = Love

George Catlin's Obsession

No artist devoted himself more passionately to a single subject than George Catlin. An exhibition at the Renwick Gallery in Washington, D.C. asks: Did his work exploit or advance the American Indian?

BY BRUCE WATSON



George Catlin (right, at age 74 in 1870) set out to reach "every tribe of Indians on the Continent of North America," and to produce "faithful portraits . . . views of their villages, games, &c." His *Sioux Encamped on the Upper Missouri, Dressing Buffalo Meat and Robes* (detail) is from 1832.

Little Bear, A Hunkpapa Brave
WESTERN SIOUX/LAKOTA (1832)

He Who Kills the Osages, Chief of the Tribe
MISSOURIA/JIWERE-NUTACHI (1832)

Little Wolf, A Famous Warrior
IOWA (1844)

ONE DAY IN 1805, a 9-year-old boy exploring the woods along the Susquehanna River in southcentral New York came face-to-face with an Oneida Indian. The boy froze, terrified. Towering over him, the Indian lifted a hand in friendship. The boy never forgot the encounter or the man's kindness. The experience may well have shaped George Catlin's lifework.

Today Indians from nearly 50 tribes are gathered in the Renwick Gallery of the Smithsonian American Art Museum in Washington. There are Sioux, Crow, Kickapoo, Comanche, and many more, resplendent in full tribal dress. The faces of famous chiefs mix with those of young women and medicine men. A huge tepee sits in the middle of the gathering, and the sound of stampeding buffalo wafts through the galleries. Hundreds of paintings adorn the walls, accompanied by displays of artifacts—a buffalo headdress, arrows, beaded garments. At the center of it all is a lone white man—part showman, part artist—who devoted his life to preserving, in his words, "the looks and customs of the vanishing races of native man in America."

In "George Catlin and His Indian Gallery" (through January 19, 2003), hundreds of stark, simple portraits stare impassively at visitors. The show, which also includes Catlin's renderings of Indian rituals and landscapes of the prairie he traveled by steamboat, horseback and canoe in the 1830s, marks the first time in more than a century that Catlin's paintings and the items he collected have been exhibited together in the manner he displayed them (1837-1850) in salons along the Eastern Seaboard and in London, Paris and Brussels. The artist, who was both heralded and criticized while he was alive, died in 1872 wondering what would happen to his gallery. "In his time, Catlin was considered a B painter, but he was a complex and fascinating figure," says the exhibit's cocurator George Gurney. "His collection is the largest of pre-photographic material of Native Americans. It's an incredible record."

Though not the first artist to paint American Indians, Catlin was the first to picture them so extensively in their own territories and one of the few to portray them as fellow human beings rather than savages. His more realistic approach grew out of his appreciation for a people who, he wrote, "had been invaded, their morals corrupted, their lands wrested from them, their customs changed, and therefore lost to the world." Such empathy was uncommon in 1830, the year the federal Indian Removal Act forced Southeastern tribes to move to what is now Oklahoma along the disastrous "Trail of Tears."

Catlin had little or no formal training as an artist, but he grew up hearing tales of Indians from settlers and from his own mother, who at age 7 had been abducted, along with her mother, by Iroquois during a raid along the Susquehanna in 1778. They were soon released unharmed, and

P. 70 AND PP. 72-73 SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN ART MUSEUM (8); P. 71 VIRGINIA MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, RICHMOND. PAUL MELLON COLLECTION

Crystal Stone, Wife of the Chief
BLACKFOOT/KAINAI (1832)

Horse Chief, Grand Pawnee Head Chief
PAWNEE (1832)

No Fool, A Great Fop
KANSAS/KAW (1832)

Catlin, who is accused by some of exploiting the Indians he painted, rendered this "raging tempest" in 1832.

Polly Catlin often told her son about the experience.

Despite a talent for drawing, Catlin (the fifth of 14 children) followed the importunings of his father, Putnam Catlin, and studied law. In 1820, he set up a practice near Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, where he had been born in 1796 (though the family moved to a farm 40 miles away in New York when he was an infant). But he found himself sketching judges, juries and "culprits" in court, and after a few years he sold his law books and moved to Philadelphia to try his hand as an artist.

He earned commissions to paint the leading figures of the day, including Sam Houston and Dolley Madison, but struggled to find a larger purpose to his work. "My mind was continually reaching for some branch or enterprise of the art, on which to devote a whole lifetime of enthusiasm," he wrote in his memoirs. He found it circa 1828, when a delegation of Indians stopped in Philadelphia en route to Washington, D.C. Captivated by "their classic beauty," Catlin then began searching for Indian subjects. He felt that "civilization"—particularly whiskey and smallpox—was wiping them out, and he vowed that "nothing short of the loss of my life, shall prevent me from visiting their country, and of becoming their historian." Although recently married to Clara Gregory, the daughter of a prominent Albany, New York, family, Catlin packed up his paints in 1830, left his new wife and headed west. (The Catlins, by all accounts, adored each other, and Catlin was constantly torn between devotion to his family, which in time would include four children, and his artistic ambitions.)

St. Louis was then the edge of the Western frontier, and Catlin wasn't there long before he wrangled a meeting with the city's most illustrious citizen, Gen. William Clark. Having already explored the Louisiana Purchase with Meriwether Lewis, Clark was then the government's Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Western tribes. Catlin presented his early portraits to the general and asked for Clark's assistance in making contact with Indians in the West. Clark was skeptical at first, but Catlin convinced him of the sincerity of his quest. That summer, Clark took Catlin some 400 miles up the Mississippi River to Fort Crawford, where several tribes—the Sauk, Fox and Sioux among them—were having a council. Surrounded by gruff soldiers and somber Indians, whose customs were largely a mystery, Catlin took out his brushes and went to work. He would stay in the West six years, though he returned most winters to his family.

A shameless self-promoter, Catlin purchased this Blackfoot/Siksika medicine man's bearskin and wore it to enliven the presentation of his gallery.

During those years, he painted 300 portraits and nearly 175 landscapes and ritual scenes. Back in New York City in 1837, he displayed them salon-style, stacked floor to ceiling, one above the other—row after row of faces identified by name and number—an arrangement to which the Renwick has been largely faithful. More than a century and a half later, there remains something startling and immediate about the faces. At first glance, they seem condemning, as if daring us to look at them without guilt. But after contemplating them awhile, they appear less forbidding. Catlin called his gallery a "collection of Nature's dignitaries," and dignity indeed makes certain individuals stand out. A stately Chief Kee-o-kuk of the Sauk and Fox proudly holds tomahawk, blanket and staff. La-dóo-ke-a (Buffalo Bull), a Pawnee warrior, poses commandingly in full ceremonial paint. Catlin's landscapes are equally evocative, depicting virgin rivers and rolling hills as if from the air.

Throughout Catlin's career, journalists tended to praise his work even as some art critics dismissed him as an "American primitive," calling his artistry "deficient in drawing, perspective and finish." More controversial was his attitude toward people most Americans then regarded as savages. Catlin denounced the term, calling it "an abuse of the word, and the people to whom it is applied." He praised Indians as "honest, hospitable, faithful . . . " and criticized the government and fur traders alike for their treatment of natives. Indian society, he wrote, "has become degraded and impoverished, and their character changed by civilized teaching, and their worst passions inflamed . . . by the abuses practiced amongst them."

If Catlin alive stirred controversy for his championing of Native Americans, today he is as likely to be seen as an exploiter of them. "A native person is challenged, I think, not to feel on some level a profound resentment toward Catlin," says W. Richard West, director of the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian and himself a member of the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes. "His obsession with depicting Indians has an extremely invasive undertone to it." As for Catlin's relentless promotion of his gallery, West adds, "There's no question . . . he was exploiting Indians and the West as a commodity. On the other hand, he was far ahead of his time in his empathy for Indians. Catlin swam against the tide to bring to light information about the Indians that depicts them accurately as worthy human beings and worthy cultures."

And what did the men and women who posed for

SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN ART MUSEUM

Catlin think of their portraits? Reactions to Catlin's work varied from tribe to tribe. Sioux medicine men predicted dire consequences for those whose souls he captured on canvas, yet Blackfoot medicine men readily allowed themselves to be painted. The Mandan, awed by Catlin's ability to render likenesses, called him Medicine White Man. Sometimes his portraits stirred up trouble. Once among the Hunkpapa Sioux on the Missouri River, he painted Chief Little Bear in profile. When the portrait was nearly finished, a rival saw it and taunted, "[The artist] knows you are but half a man, for he has painted but half of your face!" The chief ignored the affront, and when the portrait was done, he presented Catlin with a buckskin shirt decorated with porcupine quills. But the insult led to an intertribal war that claimed many lives. Some Sioux blamed Catlin and condemned him to death, but by then he had moved farther upriver.

In his six years on the prairie, Catlin survived debilitating fevers that killed his military escorts. (He later touted his travels in long-winded accounts published as travelogues.) Though most of his early work was undertaken within a few hundred miles of St. Louis, one journey took him to a place few white men had gone before. In the spring of 1832, he secured a berth on the steamboat *Yellowstone*, about to embark from St. Louis on a journey 2,000 miles up the Missouri River. Steaming into each Indian settlement, the *Yellowstone* fired its cannon, terrifying natives, who fell to the ground or sacrificed animals to appease their gods. Catlin was mesmerized by the "soul-melting scenery." He watched great herds of buffalo, antelope and elk roaming "a vast country of green fields, where the *men* are all *red*." In three months on the Upper Missouri, working with great speed, Catlin executed no fewer than 135 paintings, sketching figures and faces, leaving details to be finished later. In July, near what is now Bismarck, North Dakota, he became one of the few white

Catlin was one of the few white men to witness the Mandan's annual O-kee-pa ritual, in which the tribe's most promising young men were suspended by ropes attached to barbs in their flesh. But skeptics claimed he made the whole thing up.

DENVER ART MUSEUM, WILLIAM, SR. AND DOROTHY HARMSEN COLLECTION

LONDON MECHANICS' INSTITUTION,
20, SOUTHAMPTON BUILDINGS, CHANCERY LANE.
ON TUESDAY EVENING, APRIL 9th, 1850,
MR. CATLIN
WILL DELIVER A LECTURE ON THE
VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPI,
AND ITS ADVANTAGES TO EMIGRATION;
WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF
THE GOLD REGIONS OF CALIFORNIA.
THE LECTURE WILL BE ILLUSTRATED BY
COLOSSAL MAPS AND PAINTINGS.
TO COMMENCE AT HALF-PAST EIGHT O'CLOCK PRECISELY
TICKETS OF ADMISSION, AT HALF THE USUAL PRICES, may be obtained at the Institution.
A. M'FARLANE, Secretary

In 1879, Catlin's Indian Gallery (450 portraits and some 160 artifacts, created and collected over the six years he portrayed Western tribes) was given to the Smithsonian Institution and displayed there (above) from 1883 to 1890. The salon-style presentation has been re-created in the current exhibition (below) at the Renwick Gallery (through January 19, 2003). Ever the showman, Catlin hired Indians (like the Ojibwe, pictured c. 1851, below left) to perform in his shows and promoted his lectures in handbills (left).

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION ARCHIVES; ARCHIVES OF AMERICAN ART, S.I.; CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY; THOMAS ARLEDGE

men ever to observe the torturous fertility ritual of the Mandan tribe known as O-kee-pa, which required young men to be suspended from the top of the medicine lodge by ropes anchored to barbs skewered in their chests. When displayed five years later, Catlin's paintings of the ceremony drew skepticism. "The scenes described by Catlin existed almost entirely in the fertile imagination of that gentleman," a scholarly journal observed. Though Catlin was unable to corroborate his observations—smallpox had all but wiped out the Mandan not long after his visit—subsequent research confirmed his stark renderings.

In 1836, despite the vehement protests of Sioux elders, Catlin insisted on visiting a sacred, red-stone quarry in southwestern Minnesota that provided the Sioux with the bowls for their ceremonial pipes. No Indian would escort him, and fur traders, angry about his letters in newspapers condemning them for corrupting the Indians, also refused. So Catlin and a companion traveled 360 miles round-trip on horseback. The unique red pipestone he found there today bears the name catlinite. "Man feels here the thrilling sensation, the force of illimitable freedom," Catlin wrote, "there is poetry in the very air of this place."

Except for his run-in over the quarry, Catlin maintained excellent relations with his various hosts. They escorted him through hostile areas and invited him to feasts of dog meat, beaver tail and buffalo tongue. "No Indian ever betrayed me, struck me with a blow, or stole from me a shilling's worth of my property. . . ," he later wrote. By 1836, his last year in the West, Catlin had visited 48 tribes. He would spend the rest of his life trying to market his work, leading him to the brink of ruin.

On September 23, 1837, the New York *Commercial Advertiser* announced the opening of an exhibit featuring lectures by Catlin, Indian portraits, "as well as Splendid Costumes—Paintings of their villages—Dances—Buffalo Hunts—Religious Ceremonies, etc." Admission at Clinton Hall in New York City was 50 cents, and crowds of people lined up to pay it. When the show closed after three months, the artist took it to cities along the East Coast. But after a year, attendance began to dwindle, and Catlin fell on hard times. In 1837, he tried to sell his gallery to the federal government, but Congress dawdled. So in November 1839, with Clara expecting their second child and promising to join him the following year, Catlin packed his gallery, including a buffalo-hide tepee and two live bears, and sailed for England.

In London, Brussels, and at the Louvre in Paris, he packed houses with his "Wild West" show. He hired local actors to whoop in feathers and war paint and pose in *tableaux vivants*. In time he was joined by several groups of Indians (21 Ojibwe and 14 Iowa) who were touring Europe with promoters. Such luminaries as George Sand, Victor Hugo and Charles Baudelaire admired Catlin's artistry. But general audiences preferred the live Indians, especially after Catlin convinced the Ojibwe and the Iowa to reenact hunts, dances, even scalpings. In 1843, Catlin was presented to Queen Victoria in London, and two years later, to King Louis-Philippe in France. But renting halls, transporting eight tons of paintings and artifacts, and providing for his Indian entourage—as well as his family, which by 1844 included three daughters and a son—kept the painter perpetually in debt. In 1845, in Paris, Clara, his devoted wife of 17 years, contracted pneumonia and died. Then the Ojibwe got smallpox. Two died; the rest went back to the plains. The next year his 3-year-old son, George, succumbed to typhoid.

In 1848, Catlin and his daughters returned to London, where he tried to drum up interest in installing his gallery on a ship—a floating "Museum of Mankind"—that would visit seaports around the globe. But his dream came to nothing. He lectured on California's gold rush and sold copies of his paintings, using the originals as collateral for loans. In 1852, his funds exhausted, the 56-year-old Catlin was thrown into a London debtor's prison. His brother-in-law came to take Catlin's young daughters back to America. The dejected artist later would write that he had "no other means on earth than my hands and my brush, and less than half a life, at best, before me." He again offered to sell his gallery (which Senator Daniel Webster had called "more important to us than the ascertaining of the South Pole, or anything that can be discovered in the Dead Sea . . . ") to the U.S. government. But Congress thought the price too steep, even when Catlin lowered it from $65,000 to $25,000.

Catlin plunged eagerly into Indian activities and even participated in buffalo hunts. *Buffalo Bull, Grazing on the Prairie* (detail) is from c. 1833.

Finally, late that summer, Joseph Harrison, a wealthy Pennsylvania railroad tycoon for whom Catlin had secured a painting by the American historical artist Benjamin West, paid Catlin's debts, acquired his gallery for $20,000 and shipped it from London to Philadelphia. It sat there in Harrison's boiler factory, while Catlin—who had repaired to Paris with a handful of watercolors and a few copies of his originals that he had hidden from his creditors—set out to rebuild his life, and his gallery. From 1852 to 1860, he bounced between Europe, the Pacific North-

SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN ART MUSEUM

As proof of his art's accuracy, Catlin sometimes acquired artifacts (such as this Sioux cradle) from his subjects. His prize possession was a shirt (probably lost) given to him by Mandan chief Four Bears and similar to the one above (likely created by the artist).

west and South and Central America painting Indians from the Amazon to Patagonia. Or did he? Some scholars, dubious because of the wildness of the accounts and the lack of documentation, doubt that he left Europe at all. In any case, by 1870 the dogged artist had completed 300 paintings of South American Indians and had re-created from sketches some 300 copies of his original Indian Gallery portraits. "Now I am George Catlin again," he wrote his brother just before returning to America in 1870. He exhibited his "Cartoon Gallery," as he called the copies and his South American and other later works, in 1871 in New York City, but it did not draw crowds. The show, however, earned Catlin a powerful ally when it moved to the Smithsonian Institution later that year.

For a book on his Western travels, Catlin pictured himself painting Chief Four Bears. Some critics say his art makes up in vitality what it lacks in artistry.

Although Smithsonian Secretary Joseph Henry thought Catlin's paintings had "little value as works of art," he needed them: a fire had just destroyed most of the Smithsonian's collection of Indian paintings (works by John Mix Stanley and Charles Bird King). Henry offered Catlin both support and a home. For nine months, the artist, in his mid-70s, white-bearded and walking with a cane, lived in the Smithsonian Castle. In November 1872, Catlin left Washington to be with his daughters in New Jersey. He died there two months later at age 76. Among his final words were, "What will happen to my gallery?" Seven years after his death, Harrison's widow gave the works acquired by her husband (some 450 of Catlin's original paintings and enough buckskin and fur, war clubs, pipes, and more, to fill a third of a freight car) to the Smithsonian. The gallery was displayed there for seven years starting in 1883—the last comprehensive public show of both artifacts and paintings until this fall. Most of the works now at the Renwick are originals, but there are also some copies from his Cartoon Collection, which was eventually returned to his daughters and later purchased by collector Paul Mellon, who gave most of it to the National Gallery of Art.

Catlin's reputation remains as mixed today as ever. "He may end up being regarded as a B painter," says cocurator Gurney, "but his best portraits contain a vitality and directness that equal almost anyone's." His greater contribution, undoubtedly, was his signal role in helping to change the perception of Native Americans. "Art may mourn when these people are swept from the earth," he wrote, "and the artists of future ages may look in vain for another race so picturesque in their costumes, their weapons, their colours, their manly games, and their chase." ○

Bruce Watson's book The Man Who Changed How Boys and Toys Were Made *(on A.C. Gilbert and Erector Sets) was published this fall.*

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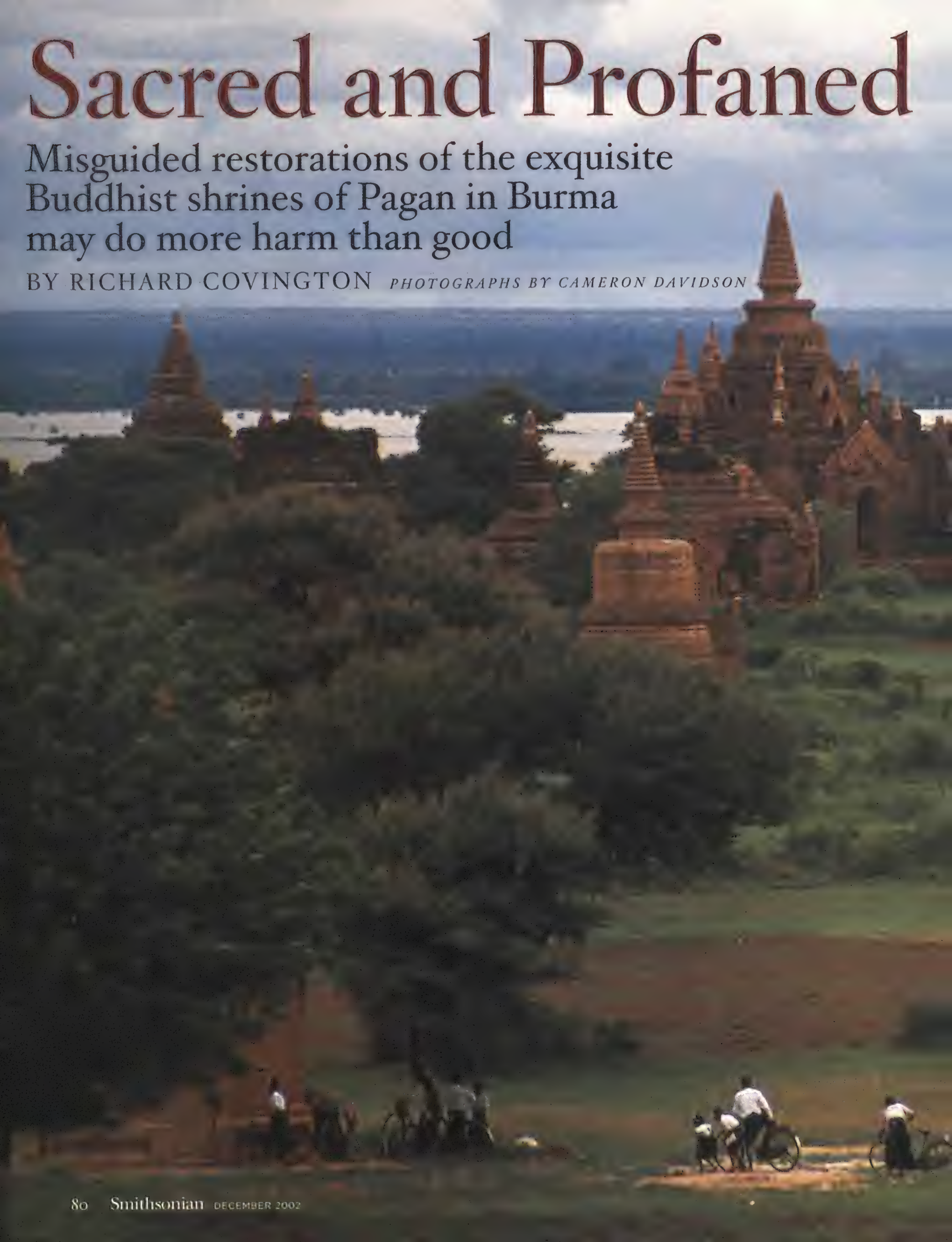
SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN ART MUSEUM

Working rapidly in the West, Catlin focused on faces (as in a 1832 portrait of Pawnee warrior La-dóo-ke-a) and filled in details later.

Sacred and Profaned

Misguided restorations of the exquisite Buddhist shrines of Pagan in Burma may do more harm than good

BY RICHARD COVINGTON *PHOTOGRAPHS BY CAMERON DAVIDSON*



Built 1,000 years ago along Burma's Irrawaddy River, Pagan's 2,200 Buddhist temples and wall paintings urgently require proper conservation.

AS WE RATTLE ALONG rutted dirt tracks in a battered jeep, Aung Kyaing, chief archaeologist of Pagan's breathtaking 1,000-year-old Buddhist temples, points out an enormous pentagonal pyramid sparkling in the morning sunlight, dominating this arid central Burma plain.

"Dhammayazika," he informs me as we bounce past a golden, bell-shaped dome with red banners and a flashy marble walkway. "Secretary Number One paid for the restoration himself." Secretary Number One is Gen. Khin Nyunt, one of the two strongmen leading Burma's repressive military junta. Kyaing, an affable scholar dressed in an immaculate white shirt and green *longyi*, the traditional wraparound skirt favored by both Burmese men and women, is showing me an archaeological disaster—the best and the worst of the government's recent efforts to restore the ancient temples.

In 1996, the junta invited sponsors across Asia to donate money to help the Burmese rebuild the crumbling temples, but they spurned any professional assistance from international conservators. The resulting hurried and often sloppy restorations have risked destroying the very treasures that make Pagan unique. "The restoration campaign is catastrophic," says Pierre Pichard, a French archaeologist long familiar with Pagan.

Like many of Afghanistan's archaeological treasures, Pagan's temples may fall victim to politics. But there are signs of hope. Pagan attracts nearly 200,000 foreign visitors a year, 12,000 of them American, despite the U.S. government's imposition of economic sanctions in April 1997 and the country's repressive regime. With the May release of Burmese dissident and 1991 Nobel Peace Prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi, 57, from house arrest, the government has signaled, if not a willingness to back away from its harshly antidemocratic stance, at least a recognition of the importance of tourism and foreign exchange. If the change in attitude continues, many temples could be saved—at least that's the hope of archaeologists like Pichard.

ON THIS VAST lowland plateau at a sweeping bend in the Irrawaddy River 300 miles north of the capital city, Rangoon, temples, domed pagodas and gilt spires create a surreal landscape. At the height of the Pagan Empire in the 13th century, there were some 2,500 temples; now, due to earthquakes and neglect, there are 300 fewer. Still, the overall ef-

International conservators have been concerned about Pagan's restorations since 1996, when Burma's ruling junta began cutting corners by whitewashing interior walls (above), using concrete as mortar (below left) and constructing temples, some from the ground up, with new pink brick (below right). The Ananda Temple (right) was correctly restored in the early 1980s.

fect remains awe-inspiring. Originally built by kings and subjects intent upon earning better lives in future incarnations, the temples were the seat of a dynasty that extended over an empire more or less the configuration of present-day Burma. (In 1989, the military dictatorship reverted to precolonial names—for them this is Bagan, Myanmar. But the U.S. State Department continues to use the names Pagan and Burma, as do many other organizations protesting the tyrannical government.)

Many of the temples in Burma were built to house relics of Buddha, Indian Prince Siddhartha Gautama, who some 2,500 years ago, renounced his wealth and taught his followers that they could experience enlightenment directly, without help from priests. The religion he founded now boasts some three quarters of a billion adherents, most of them in Asia. One of Buddha's teeth, according to legend, is embedded under the graceful bell-shaped stupa (which became a model for all future stupas in Pagan) at Shwezigon Pagoda. A strand of his hair is purportedly preserved inside the stupa that tops the Shwezigon Temple (hence its name "shwe," or "golden," and "zigon," meaning hair), which offers one of the highest vantage points in Pagan. There are no tombs, however, since Burmese Buddhists cremate their dead.

For a sense of Pagan, picture 2,000 cathedrals and churches of all shapes that vary in height from barely 12 feet to more than 200 feet, all squeezed into a parcel of land about three quarters the size of Manhattan. (At 200 feet, the Thatbinnyu Temple is about as high as Notre Dame in Paris and was built at roughly the same time.) Apart from the sheer number of temples in Pagan, the ancient city also has the greatest concentration of Buddhist wall paintings in Southeast Asia. As Scottish anthropologist James George Scott wrote in 1910 of Pagan: "Jerusalem, Rome, Kiev, Benares, none of them can boast the multitude of temples, and the lavishness of design and ornament."

The citizens of Pagan began their temple-building in the tenth century, more than 100 years after the kingdom was founded. In the 11th century, Pagan's King Anawrahta returned from a pilgrimage to Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), intent on converting his subjects from the animistic worship of *nats*, or spirit gods, to the austere Theravada school of Buddhism, which directs believers to attain enlightenment through meditation and

The paintings (detail, above) that cover the interior of the Nandamannya Temple are considered by experts to be among the best in Pagan, but they are in desperate need of proper restoration. Some UNESCO archaeologists consider the statue of Buddha (below) a gaudy travesty. The small, single-chambered, 13th-century temple was built by King Kyazwa who died in 1249 at the age of 14.

meritorious deeds. About the same time, King Anawrahta began taking full advantage of the city's strategic position on the Irrawaddy as a trading port linking China and India. Under the rule of Anawrahta's son, Pagan continued to prosper, and the population swelled to 100,000 inhabitants. The nation's overflowing coffers went into building elaborate Buddhist temples, monasteries, libraries, and housing for pilgrims. The court was so wealthy that children of nobility played with silver and gold toys.

By the time a king named Alaungsithu came to power in 1113, Pagan traders had become so skillful on the seas that the king himself captained an oceangoing ship with 800 crew on a trading mission to Ceylon, 1,500 miles southwest across the Indian Ocean. The ambitious explorer-king was also something of a poet, dedicating Shwegugyi Temple in 1131 with the lines, as translated from the Burmese: "I would build a causeway sheer athwart the river of samsara [worldly cares], and all folk would speed across thereby until they reach the Blessed City."

Unfortunately, Alaungsithu's treacherous son Narathu, impatient to rule, smothered him to death on a Shwegugyi terrace. After that, Narathu killed his uncle, as well as his own wife and son, poisoned an older half brother who was heir to the throne, and then married one of his father's mistresses. When she complained that he never washed, the new king personally dispatched her with a sword thrust through her heart. When it came to ensuring his own afterlife by temple-building, the psychopathic Narathu was a stickler for precision brickwork. He insisted that the bricks in the 12th-century Dhammayangyi Temple, the largest in Pagan, be set so close together that a needle could not pass between them. He was eventually done in by assassins.

The Pagan Empire began to disintegrate in 1277 with its ignominious defeat at the hands of Kublai Khan's army at Ngasaungsyan, near the Chinese border 400 miles to the north. When the Burmese refused to pay tribute to the Mongol ruler, Khan sent his 12,000-horse cavalry to invade their kingdom. Marco Polo, traveling with the Mongols, wrote of the bloody debacle in which Pagan's soldiers, on foot and atop elephants, were lured into a forest and slaughtered. Though scholars debate whether the Mongols ever occupied the city, most agree that by the end of the 13th century, religious zeal had gotten the best of the Pagan kings. By spending so much money on temples and turning so much land over to a tax-exempt religious order, they had bankrupted the country.

Pagan went into gradual decline. The monasteries were open, and pilgrims journeyed there, but the temples were neglected, and plundered by treasure hunters who eviscerated statues and dug into stupa bases searching for precious stones. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, a wave

The Payathonzu Temple (the name means triple temple) is a complex of three interconnected shrines that was abandoned shortly before its completion, due to the invasion of Kublai Khan in the late 13th century, at least according to some scholars. Two of the shrines contain mural paintings—such as the seated Buddhas below—which are in relatively good condition.

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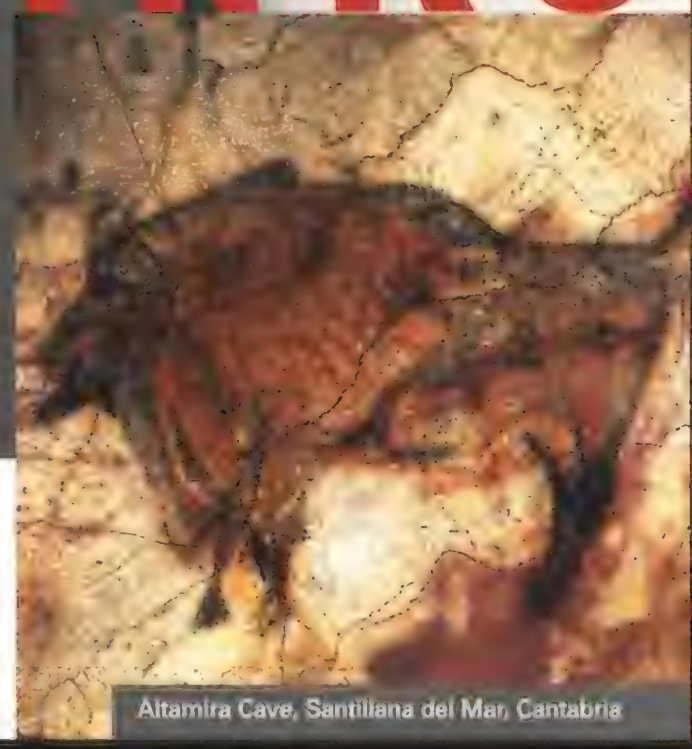

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of Europeans removed sculptures and carvings to museums in Berlin and other cities.

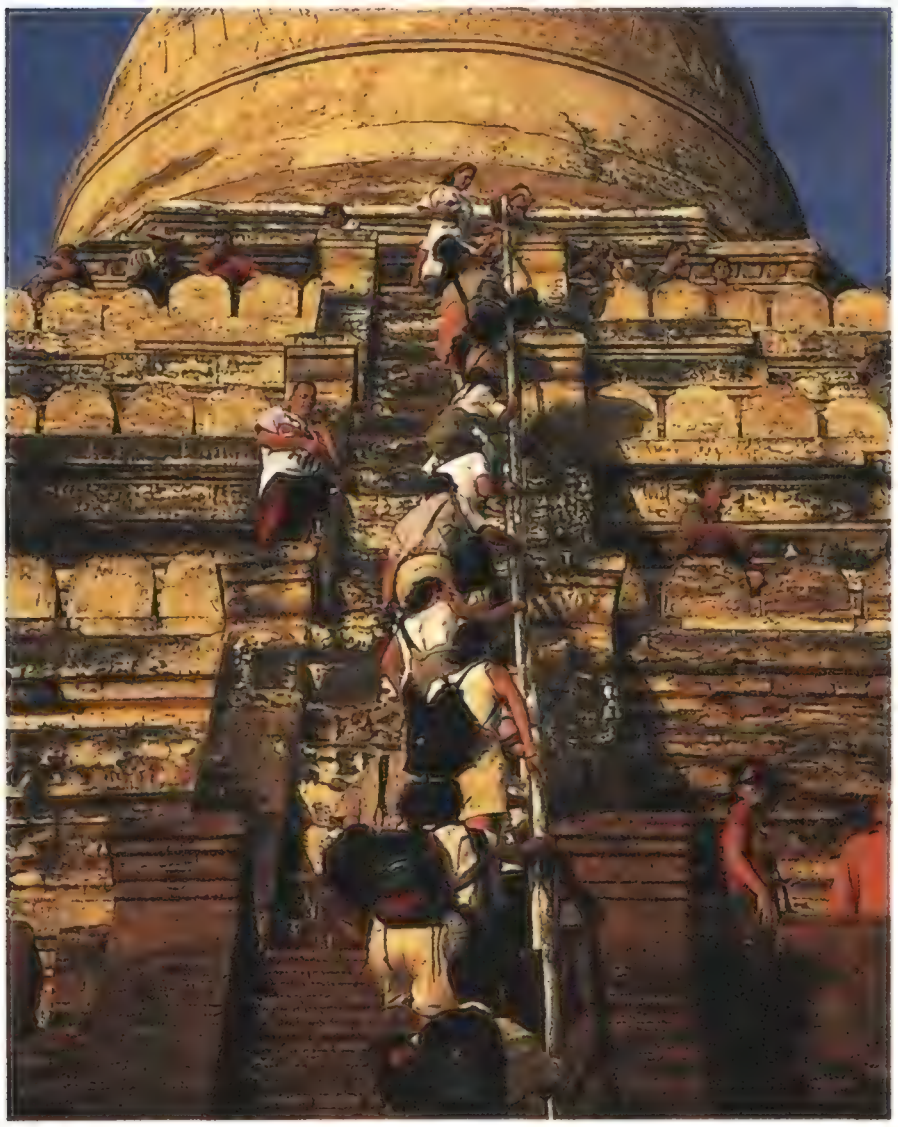
Burma became a British colony in the late 1880s but regained its independence in 1948. Then followed more than a decade of civil turmoil when a weak democracy broke into factions, which fought back and forth for control of the government. The nation has been ruled for the past 40 years by a series of uncompromising military dictators. When Aung San Suu Kyi's opposition party, the National League for Democracy, won 80 percent of the vote in 1990 in elections ordered by the junta to quell major civil unrest and to gain international legitimacy, the government annulled the result and imprisoned Suu Kyi and hundreds of dissidents. Since her release eight months ago (because of pressure from the U.S. government, the European Union, Burmese dissidents living abroad and international human rights organizations), the junta has freed more that 300 political prisoners, though more than 1,000 opponents of the regime remain in jail. The junta has permitted 50 National League offices to open, and Suu Kyi has been allowed limited travel to rally support for democratic reform. Nonetheless, according to Human Rights Watch, severe political repression, torture, forced labor and the drafting of children into the army remain. In an October report on religious freedom, the State Department excoriated Burma for its ardent persecution of Muslims and other minorities.

Although Suu Kyi continues to insist that U.S. sanctions be maintained, she is encouraging targeted humanitarian assistance. Along these lines, the U.S. Agency for International Development is sponsoring a $1 million program to fight HIV/AIDS in Burma, an epidemic ravaging the population. But tourists, Suu Kyi says, should boycott the country until the military rulers demonstrate tangible progress on democratic reform. However, even some members of her own party disagree, pointing out that the money that goes toward guest houses, restaurants, tour guides, drivers and local artisans generates desperately needed income in a country where many families live on $5 a day. "If the tourists don't come, women in textile factories will lose their jobs," Ma Thanegi, a journalist and former aide to Suu Kyi, told the *New York Times* recently. "They are the ones who suffer, not the generals."

Others contend that encouraging tourism could reduce Burma's dependency on the deeply entrenched opium trade and the rampant logging that is rapidly deforesting the once lush woodlands. However misguided, the government's current race to restore temples is part of a broader campaign to exploit Pagan's tourism potential. In the meantime, local residents and pilgrims continue to use the temples as they always have, for quiet meditation and worship, and as communal parks.

But the temples themselves have changed. Everywhere,

The commanding view afforded by the 11th-century Shwesandaw stupa (below, left)—built in the center of Pagan to symbolize Mount Meru, the Buddhist realm of the gods—draws tourists from near and far. The Burmese consider Pagan's temples part of their communal life, and though archaeologists disdain the 19th-century-reproduction Buddha (below, right), most citizens approve of it.



it seems, temples with new bright pink brick and thick concrete mortar stand out in shocking contrast to the ancient redbrick exteriors and carved sandstone facades. Many temples are being newly built or reconstructed from the ground up rather than restored—using concrete and other materials that damage both the structures themselves and the fragile wall paintings inside. According to Minja Yang, deputy director of the World Heritage Site program for UNESCO in Paris, more than a thousand temples were badly restored or rebuilt in 2000 and 2001.

Since 1996, when the junta invited donations, devout Burmese from Secretary Number One on down, as well as hundreds of Singaporean, Japanese and Korean Buddhists—a total of some 2,000 contributors—have poured millions of dollars into the reconstructions. Their goal, too, is to gain religious merit in this life and in future incarnations. Although the work is widely condemned, the Burmese authorities still press for donations.

In the 1980s and '90s, the French archaeologist Pichard worked with UNESCO and the United Nations Development Program to train Burmese conservationists. The restoration program was moving ahead, but the junta saw an opportunity to increase revenue by launching a cheaper conservation plan, so they shut down the UNESCO program. Pichard, who recently completed the eighth volume of his definitive *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan*, accuses authorities of churning out "Xerox stupas," carbon-copy temples based on scant archaeological evidence. "They've rebuilt hundreds of buildings on ruins that are little more than mounds of rubble," he says, "and they take a percentage on every one." Very little of the donated money finances restoration of the precious wall paintings.

"The cement they're using contains salts that migrate through the brick and damage the murals," adds Pichard. The liberal use of concrete also makes the buildings rigid and far less likely to withstand earthquakes. He says that in a 1975 earthquake that registered 6.5 on the Richter scale, temples that had been reinforced with concrete in earlier restorations collapsed in huge chunks, some weighing a ton, smashing everything beneath. Without concrete, the bricks tend to fall one by one, causing far less damage, he says.

UNESCO and other cultural organizations recommend halting the poor-quality reconstruction and, using international funding, bringing in independent experts to offer technical assistance. But the junta has made it clear that it rejects all international oversight or advice.

Unlike the damage caused by recent restorations, the mural-cleaning and conservation projects conducted by U.N. and Burmese teams in the '80s and '90s have proved remarkably durable. Early one morning, I arrange for a horse-cart ride to the 12th-century Gubyaukgyi Temple, an imposing pyramid of redbrick with elaborate carvings topped by a tapering, corncob-shaped tower called a *sikhara*. Gorgon masks with garlands of pearls pouring out of grinning mouths form a frieze that rings the temple's exterior. Inside, on the walls, tigers and fantastic beasts square off with snout-nosed, yellow-faced demons. In the niche of one window, I can just make out a pair of lithe dancers twirling arms and legs seductively in shadow. These are among the oldest and, after careful and proper restoration, the most vivid paintings in Pagan.

In marked contrast, at Leimyethna, a 13th-century temple about a mile away, I am appalled to see that a donor has inscribed his name in red paint over 800-year-old wall paintings. Equally jarring, a new gilt statue of a seated Buddha is surrounded by incongruously jazzy paintings of flowers, vines and lotus blossoms in bright Mediterranean pastels that look like poor copies of works by Henri Matisse or Raoul Dufy.

WHEN THE BURMESE archaeologist Kyaing and I arrive at Nandamanya, a 13th-century terraced brick temple topped by a bell-shaped dome, we slip off our sandals at an intricately carved doorway and step barefoot into the cool interior. Weak sunlight filters through a pair of stone windows perforated in diamond-shaped patterns. When Kyaing turns on his flashlight, the dimly lit walls erupt in extravagant color, illuminating one of the best murals in Pagan: exquisitely detailed scenes of Buddha's life painted in the mid-13th century.

One Nandamanya panel depicts Buddha preaching his first sermon in a deer forest embellished with intricate yellow flowers and green foliage. Painted fish with individual scales are so well-preserved that they gleam in the artificial light. An illustrated series of half-naked women, daughters of the evil demon Mara sent to tempt Buddha, remain mildly shocking, though hardly "so vulgarly erotic and revolting that they can neither be reproduced or described," as Charles Duroiselle, a French expert in Burmese inscrip-

On May 6, 2002, Aung San Suu Kyi (above), the leader of Burma's opposition party, the National League for Democracy, emerged triumphant in Rangoon after her release from house arrest by the military junta led by Gen. Than Shwe (below). The two sides have yet to talk, and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Suu Kyi "is not very confident" about the junta's promise to move toward democracy.

STEPHEN SHAVER / AFP PHOTOS; EMMANUEL DUNAND / AFP PHOTO

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tions, huffed in his 1916 description of the temple. Some of the paintings are riven with cracks. "Earthquake damage," says Kyaing, referring to the 1975 tremor. "This temple was spared, but the murals were damaged. We are trying to leave them untouched except for cleaning and filling cracks with harmless epoxy resin."

After Kyaing drops me off at my riverside hotel set among several temples, I rent a bicycle and pedal out to the 11th-century temple known as Shwesandaw, a mile south of the city gate, a prime vantage point for catching the sunset and, for locals, netting Western dollars. At the entrance, eager vendors sell postcards, miniature Buddha statues and jewelry. I climb five flights of steep exterior steps to join other camera-toting pilgrims crowding the narrow upper terrace for a sweeping view of the mile-wide Irrawaddy River, where fishing pirogues scurry out of the path of a steamer ferry belching thick, black smoke. The fading light burnishes the hundreds of temples dotting the plain in shades of deep umber.

Pedaling lazily back to the hotel, I pass lantern-lit stalls where vendors are busy setting out silk, woven baskets and lacquer boxes in preparation for a religious celebration that will last three weeks. Fortune-tellers, astrologers and numerologists set up tables in anticipation of brisk business from their many deeply superstitious countrymen. Squatting in front of a restaurant, a pair of old women puff on fat cheroots, crinkling their eyes in amusement as a young girl runs alongside my bike. "Want to buy a painting?" she asks. "My brother paint from temple. Very cheap."

The next day, I sit on a bench encircling a gargantuan banyan tree in a courtyard outside the beautifully restored Ananda Temple, the largest and most revered in Pagan. I watch several young women sweep the courtyard industriously, a task that earns them 100 *kyat* (about 17¢) a day plus a ration of rice.

"No one is forced to work on the temples," Kyaing says later when I ask if the women are forced laborers. "We Burmese enjoy doing meritorious deeds as a way to escape suffering," Kyaing continues. "That's why we clean temples and restore pagodas—so we can have a good life in the future. Even our Buddha had to go through many lives. Sometimes he was a king, sometimes an important minister of state, sometimes no one at all."

Like Buddha, Burma is overdue for another, hopefully more democratic, reincarnation, one in which the restoration of its ancient sites will proceed more thoughtfully. As critical as Pichard and other scholars are of current reconstructions, they are not suggesting that the Burmese, and other Buddhists, be denied religious merit through donations for restoration work. Surely, they say, there is more merit in properly preserving the legacy of the country's ancestors than in mass-producing fake stupas using techniques that risk destroying irreplaceable art.

If a more responsible conservation program is not undertaken soon, Burma's transcendent mystique will unquestionably suffer irreparable harm. But if international pressure led to freedom for Aung San Suu Kyi, there's hope a similar campaign can rescue Pagan. ○

Richard Covington wrote most recently for Smithsonian *about Morocco. Photographer Cameron Davidson shot our story on pigeon racing that appeared in March 2002.*

Tourist dollars could help revitalize Burma, where the average family lives on $5 a day.

To go or not to go?

The pros and cons of a visit to Burma are presented in the eighth edition of Lonely Planet's guidebook *Myanmar(Burma)*, published last month, and at www.lonelyplanet.com.

Other useful Web sites:
www.state.gov
www.myanmar.com
www.burmaproject.org
www.iamat.org

Burmese cuisine offers many unique tastes and textures. Try crispy-fried squash with tamarind sauce, and tamarind soup, green tea leaves soaked in garlic, tender young ginger roots with toasted beans, papaya with cucumber, and okra with crispy onions. Renting a bike or a horse cart are nice ways to see the temples. The Bagan Hotel faces the river and has airy teak-furnished rooms set in a palm garden. The bungalows at the Thiripyitsaya Sakura Hotel have private verandas overlooking the river.

MAP: ELIZABETH WOLF

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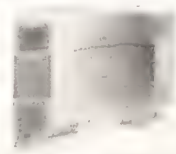

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HAPPY TRAILS

As freshly carved toys or treasured heirlooms, well-bred rocking horses ride high in the affections of kids and collectors alike

BY PER OLA AND EMILY D'AULAIRE

CROWDS SPILLING ONTO THE grounds of Queen Elizabeth's estate, Windsor Great Park, outside London, for the Windsor Horse Trials this past May clustered around a dark green van parked off to one side on which gold lettering spelled out the words "Stevenson Brothers." When the van's side panel swung open, people began to ooh and aah at the sight of eight magnificent rocking horses. Of various sizes, some were painted a dapple-gray, others were burnished natural wood. "I always wanted a rocking horse when I was little," one woman said. "I'm going to buy one for my granddaughter for Christmas." She'd best check the price tag first. These steeds are the Secretariats of today's rocking horse world and, like their pedigreed counterparts, they don't come cheap—from about $2,000 to $25,000 each.

A Stevenson Brothers extra large black-walnut stallion, sturdy enough to carry an adult, costs $12,000. About $1,700 will saddle up a beautifully detailed medium dapple-gray—for children only. For those with extra deep pockets and a favorite colt or filly they'd like to memorialize, a full-sized sculpted replica costs some $26,000—plus tax. If that's a budget breaker, the Stevensons also turn out

In 1855 (the year of this daguerreotype), rocking horses symbolized middle-class affluence. Today, hand-carved horses (or antiques, like the one being restored at the Stevenson Brothers studio in England, above) are largely for the wealthy.

Hardly child's play: An original creation from England's Stevenson Brothers (Marc, top left, and Tony) can cost up to $26,000, while an antique (such as the Jubilee, above, built in 1887 to celebrate Queen Victoria's long reign) can cost $7,500.

a rocking sheep, made with genuine fleece and mounted on a bow rocker, you can call your own for a mere $400.

The van, the horses and the reputation for fine craftsmanship all belong to Marc and Tony Stevenson, 46-year-old fraternal twins who, in the little village of Bethersden ("The Rocking Horse Capital of the World"), some 50 miles southeast of London, are carrying on a 62-year-old family tradition begun in 1940 by their maternal uncle, James Bosworthick. The brothers promote their creations as "future antiques" built to last for generations. (The handcrafted horses may also be sized up at stevensonbros.com.)

Robert S.L. Nathan, manager of the British Toymakers Guild, says the first time he saw the brothers' work 20 years ago, "I recognized immediately that their horses, with exceptionally fine carving and attention to detail, shone out like a good deed in a wicked world." Denise Blaney, who with her husband, Ivan, owns Canada's Mountain View Rocking Horse Farm, in Beamsville, Ontario, a prominent North American manufacturer of equine toys, says the Stevensons bridge past and present. "They uphold traditional Victorian designs," she says, "and yet they've also managed to innovate by increasing the quality of workmanship." England's Therese Lang, who oversees an on-line shopping network, puts it more simply: "They're the best."

THOUGH SMALL CLAY HORSES on wheels have been discovered in graves from as early as 1200 B.C., the first toy horse that could be ridden was the hobby, or stick, horse that dates to Greek and Roman times. One story has it that Socrates himself, frolicking with his young sons, was spotted cantering about on a pole adorned by a horse head.

The craftsman who first placed a wooden horse on rockers—a likely outgrowth of the cradle—is unknown, but by the end of the 18th century, rocking horses had evolved into ornately crafted, fiery chargers at full gallop, heads outstretched, horsehair manes and tails flowing, glass eyes gleaming. Queen Victoria's nine children insisted on bringing a dapple-gray on family vacations. Napoléon's young son, Joseph-Charles-François, treasured his painted pony. Sweden's King Karl XV and King Prajadhipok of Thailand rode rocking horses in their youth (as did the current heir to the British throne, Prince Charles, on a model carefully selected for him by Queen Elizabeth II).

For a long time, rocking horses were the purview of the rich. Then, with the increasing prosperity brought on by the Industrial Revolution, they became nursery fixtures of children born to an emerging middle class. There have been many permutations. In Germany, wooden and papier-mâché horse frames were often covered with calfskin. In bicycle-crazed France, velocipede rockers—wooden horses mounted on tricycles—were all the rage. Inventive Victorian manufacturers made horses with multiple seats to accommodate up to three children at a time, a model the Stevenson brothers have revived. In the United States, toymakers fashioned complicated if failure-prone spring-loaded horses that approximated a trotting motion.

Americans also produced some of the more flamboyant designs, adopting the style of carousel horses popular at fairgrounds and carnivals. An American also scored a safety breakthrough: in 1878, to guard against horse and rider going head over heels, not to mention scratching floors, bumping into furniture or squashing small fingers and toes, Philip Marqua of Cincinnati patented a safety stand to which the horse's legs are attached. (Purists, of course, disdain the stands.)

As immigrants poured into this country throughout the 19th century, craftsmen arriving from every corner of Europe applied their talents to America's rocking horses. Dozens of workshops, many of which employed Old World artisans, sprang up between the 1850s and the turn of the century. (The young Dwight Eisenhower earned pocket money sanding rocking horses at a now-defunct shop in Abilene, Kansas.) Few of these studios endured, in part because skilled wood-carvers flocked to the more lucrative market in carousel horses. One rocking horse manufacturer from that era, the Whitney Reed Corporation of Leominster, Massachusetts, survived for nearly 100 years, only to succumb in the 1950s to postwar parents' prefer-

PP. 92,93 ALBERT BISBEE / SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN ART MUSEUM; P. 92 AND PP. 93-95 PATRICK WARD (4)

ence for such trendy playthings as hula hoops and Betsy Wetsy dolls.

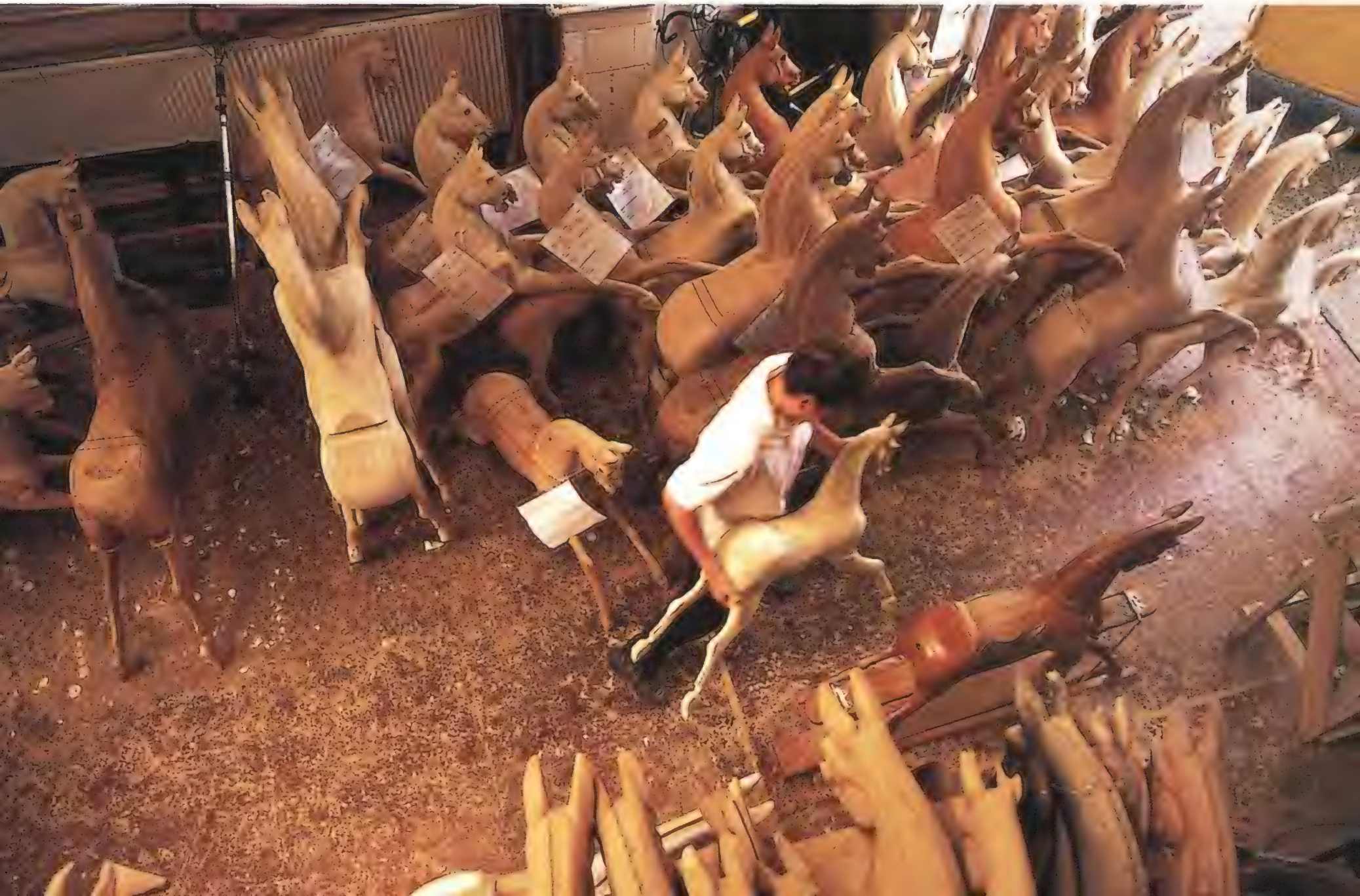
Still, a handful of American artists are today reviving handmade rocking horses. Sculptor Crayne Hennessy, 55, based in Seattle, Washington, began designing and carving his distinctive versions in 1994. In the late 1980s, he had been living in London (his wife, Cecily, is British), supporting himself by crafting elaborate dollhouses. When he delivered some examples to a Gloucester toy store that displayed several handmade rocking horses, "I took one look at them and fell in love," he recalls. "Right there I vowed, 'I'm going to do this.'"

In the 1990s, after Hennessy, and his wife, son and two daughters had relocated to Seattle, his hometown, he set up a studio where he worked as a sculptor and also began carving rocking horses. "I wanted to show musculature, give a real feel for the power of these animals," he says. "I wanted to show them full-bodied, but I also wanted to convey their friendliness." Hennessy's lifelike horses feature removable bridles and saddles, real tack for children to handle. "Hey, part of the fun of riding is saddling up your horse," says Hennessy. "I wanted for kids to be able to experience that."

Almost immediately, Hennessy's work came to the attention of the famed New York City toy emporium FAO Schwarz. Buyers for the store took one look at photographs of his work and ordered several. Within a few years, they had upped their demand to 30 at a time. Suddenly, says Hennessy, "I was working night and day." Since 1998, he has produced scores of hand-carved steeds that retail from $2,500 to $12,000, depending on the labor involved. Recently, a custom creation found a home with the 2-year-old nephew of King Abdullah II of Jordan. (Hennessy's studio also is accessible on the Web at hennessyhorses.com.)

Whatever their country of origin, "there is something magical about rocking horses that's missing in today's toys," says Marc Stevenson. "A rocking horse frees a child's imagination. A child can jump over the moon and be back in time for supper. He can soar across the Grand Canyon, chase down and capture the bad guys—and *always* win the race." The appeal is not confined to children. Marc tells of a woman who ordered a custom-made rocking horse for her sister's 84th birthday. "We wrapped it up in a white cloth and tied a red ribbon around it. When the woman opened it, I saw the years fall from her face." Michael Jackson, Bruce Springsteen and Eddie Murphy are among many celebrities who have ordered Stevenson Brothers rockers.

MARC STEVENSON HAD EARNED a degree in graphic design, and Tony was a self-taught sculptor when they decided to go into business together in 1982. In retrospect, the partnership seems inevitable. "Carpentry was in our genes," says Marc. "My dad was a shipwright, and my uncle,



The early Stevenson Brothers horses contained notes inside that read: "Please restore me carefully." The two brothers learned the craft from a reluctant uncle, James Bosworthick.

England's Rocking Horse Shop uses real horsehair (Jenny Stephenson assembles manes, above) and bases its creations on live horses (top right, owner Anthony Dew with Baz) and antique pieces it owns, such as the 1914 Bronko (above right).

James Bosworthick, was a cabinetmaker who had been crafting rocking horses and other wooden toys for 40 years." When the pair decided to continue the family tradition, Marc recalls, "Uncle James seemed to be the key."

But when the two young wanna-be entrepreneurs went to see their uncle, he brushed them off. "They had never done anything serious in their lives," Bosworthick said not long ago over a glass of sherry at Hintlesham Hall, a 16th-century manor house turned hotel. "I relented only after they had persisted for six weeks. In the end, I finally told them, 'I'll train one of you—for $1,500.'"

Tony, the sculptor, was chosen to attend his uncle's impromptu apprenticeship. Six weeks later, he returned with enough knowledge to teach Marc the tricks of the trade. With a band saw dubbed Oliver, some mallets and chisels, and a load of English lime tree wood they picked up in a borrowed cattle truck, the brothers set up shop in a former RAF fighter shed located on their sister Leslie's farm.

"We had rather lofty goals for 26-year-olds with almost no experience," says Marc. "We wanted to be the best rocking horse makers in the world." Working long hours, they glued together more than 30 blocks of wood to rough out the form of each horse. "Inside each blocked-up shape was a horse waiting to get out," says Tony, who did most of the carving. Marc made bridles and saddles.

On October 20, 1982, their 26th birthday, the twins sold their first horse (numbered 001 on a brass plaque bearing the date and the Stevenson Brothers name) for $600. "We literally ran to the bank with the money," Marc recalls.

Today, Stevenson Brothers is the largest producer of rocking horses in the world, turning out some 500 a year, with annual revenues of about $1.5 million. The brothers have abandoned their uncle's dowel and peg style to return to a Victorian method of mortise and tenon they feel is sturdier. They employ 18 workers in two administration buildings and a roomy workshop a mile down the road. Tony oversees the carvers; Marc directs promotion and sales, though when Christmas orders mount up, Marc takes his turn at the mallet and chisel as well.

And things can get hectic at any time. "Not long ago we had a rush order from Australia for six horses," says Tony. "I had to make them so fast I carved the last one with his tongue hanging out." One customer ordered a horse four years in advance. Marc asked: What's the hurry? "My child's just been born," was the reply. "He'll be ready by then."

Five days a week, the workshop hums with the whir of electric sanders; wooden and cardboard templates of legs and heads hang from hooks on a wall, and heads that

PATRICK WARD (3)

It is safe to say that Mr. Green and his Fujifilm FinePix S602 Zoom Digital Camera are firmly planted in their "green period." With 3.1 million pixels, a 3rd Generation Super CCD and the versatility of both auto and manual focus, Mr. Green sacrifices nothing in creativity. Add to that a 6x Zoom and the ability to work in continuous shooting mode and it's easy to see why the FinePix S602 is the perfect partner for anyone who has the eye of a photographer. For some, it's sunsets. For others, it's grass. For information call 1-800-800-FUJI or go to fujifilm.com.

MR. GREEN GETS HOOKED ON GRASS.

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FUJIFILM

didn't make the grade line a shelf. (One is cross-eyed, another missing an ear.) In the finishing room, assistant Matthew Clift combs real horsehair for manes and tails. Leatherworkers craft bridles, suede saddles and stirrups.

According to the Stevensons, most children prefer the brightly painted dappled horses that were popular during the Victorian era. Adults lean toward natural wood—walnut bays, maple palominos, and the ebonized walnut millennium horse, produced as a limited edition. Some grown-ups have special requests. A customer from Naples, Florida (about 20 percent of the Stevensons' output goes to the United States), asked for "soft eyes, please."

Children from the time of Socrates have saddled up, including Thai Princes Chakrabongse and Prajadhipok (circa 1894) and future atomic scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer (in 1907).

IN THE TINY VILLAGE of Fangfoss, some 250 miles north of the Stevensons' workshop, Anthony Dew, 54, employs 12 craftspeople and turns out some 50 beautifully crafted rocking horses a year. As an art student at Bingley College near Bradford, West Yorkshire, in 1976, Dew read a newspaper story about the Stevensons' uncle, James Bosworthick, called him up and arranged a visit to his workshop. "It was hot, and I had to walk ten miles from the bus stop," recalls Dew, "but once I saw him surrounded by the horses he'd made and talked to him, I knew this was what I wanted to do."

Unlike the Stevensons, Dew (Web address: rockinghorse.co.uk) specializes in selling blueprints and parts for amateurs who want to make their own horses. "Most people think they can't do it," he says, "but with the right tools and instruction, they can." Dew estimates that some 35,000 people around the world have created rocking horses using his kits and designs. Robert Nathan of the British Toymakers Guild regards Dew as "one of a rare breed of craftsmen" who "not only possesses great talent but is prepared to share his expertise."

Dew also founded the Guild of Rocking Horse Makers, a loosely organized association whose only membership requirement is to have made at least one rocking horse using hand tools. Currently, the guild has 580 members in 14 countries around the world.

Over a pint of ale at a half-timbered pub near his shop, Dew echoed Marc Stevenson. "A child develops a more intimate relationship with a rocking horse than with a large, impersonal toy like a playground swing or a seesaw," he said. "It's not something you put in a cupboard at the end of the day, especially once you've given it a name and whispered your dreams and secrets in its ear."

Dew's daughter Lynn, 19, remembers that feeling. Although she and her sister Kate, now 22 and a university student, served as testers of their father's horses, when the younger girl was 8, he asked her what she wanted for Christmas. "I didn't need to think about my answer," Lynn, also a student, recalls. "I *had* to have a rocking horse of my own." To this day, Mathilda, as Lynn named the dapple-gray made of poplar and beech, still holds pride of place in the front hallway of the family's 1840s Victorian farmhouse. And says Lynn, "I still ride her now and then." ○

Per Ola and Emily D'Aulaire, based in Connecticut, recently covered a calligrapher's studio in England for SMITHSONIAN.

Seattle's Crayne Hennessy (right, chiseling eye sockets in a black-walnut creation) brings his background as a sculptor to the muscular rocking horses he sells for up to $12,000.

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Beyond the Stereotypes

Africa

In a single day, 95 photographers document a wildly diverse continent bursting with energy and promise

Kelongwa, Zambia

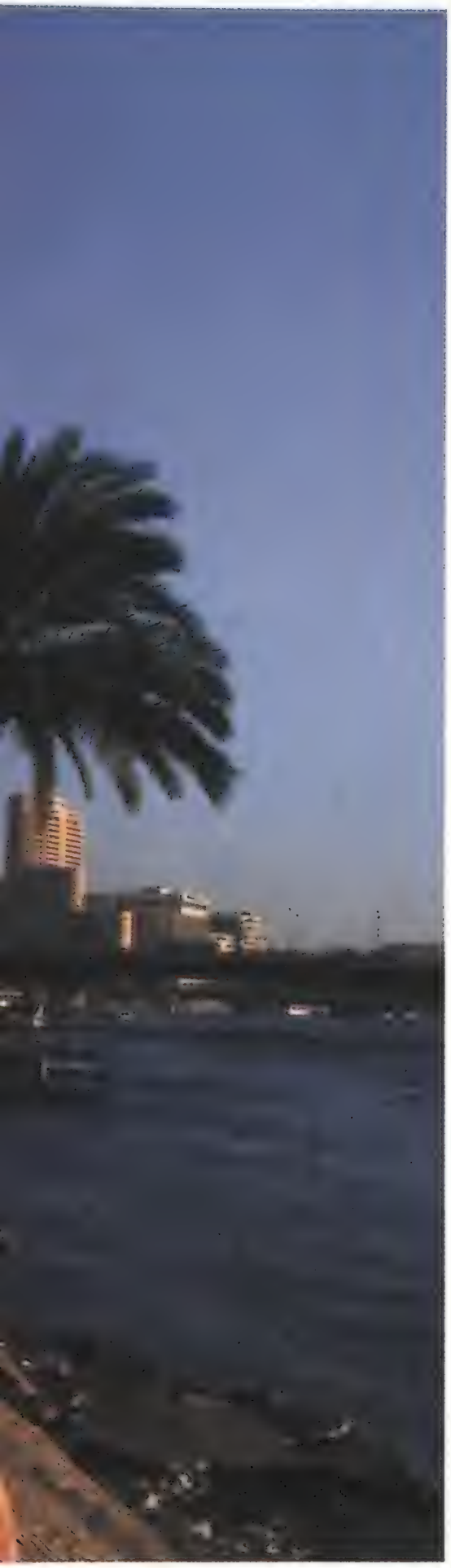
PHOTOGRAPH BY THEMBA HADEBE

Greeting the day is 6-year-old Kazungu Kautingu, whose father, David Kautingu, runs a rural health clinic that serves 4,000 people and is equipped with little more than a refrigerator for vaccines and a few cots and mattresses on the floor.

Cairo, Egypt

PHOTOGRAPH BY NADIA BENCHALLAL

In Egypt, women such as these on the bank of the Nile River (with Cairo as a backdrop) are free to hold political office, choose their own professions, run their own businesses. In cosmopolitan Cairo, where women make up nearly 49 percent of the population, young, unmarried women especially enjoy the freedom and challenge of a job.



KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

PHOTOGRAPH BY JAY DICKMAN

Park rangers take blood from a sedated Cape buffalo to test for bovine tuberculosis, a deadly infection easily spread to other species, especially lions.

SEND 95 PHOTOJOURNALISTS around the African continent on the same day, and what do you get? Pictures that belie the clichéd expectations. A prosperous black family enjoys breakfast in a sparkling kitchen near Johannesburg, South Africa. Denim-clad girls giggle in Cape Verde. Mauritius shopkeepers stand at a counter of jewellike candies. A snowplow traverses Morocco's white-topped Atlas Mountains. Africa, which is three times the size of the United States, contains 53 nations, 720 million people and more than 800 ethnic groups who speak nearly 1,000 languages. That diversity comes across in the 250 photographs taken on February 28, 2002, that appear in *A Day in the Life of Africa*, published by the Tides Foundation and Group Nine. Yes, the photographers encountered ragged poverty, fouled water, armed rebels. And AIDS. The disease has killed 12 million Africans, and some 25 million more are HIV-positive. (All publishing profits from the book will support AIDS education throughout Africa.) Mostly, the book portrays a hopeful, beautiful continent "vitally anxious," in Nobel laureate Desmond Tutu's words, "for democracy and self-determination."

Photographs from *A Day in the Life of Africa*, published by the Tides Foundation through Publishers Group West.
© 2002 by Western Arts Management. The project was underwritten by Pfizer, Olympus, Anheuser-Busch, ChevronTexaco and Apple.

Khayelitsha, South Africa

PHOTOGRAPH BY GIDEON MENDEL

Community volunteers in Khayelitsha, a township of nearly two million people near Cape Town, join forces—and brooms—to help clean up their neighborhood. The apartheid government created the township in the 1980s to permit "controlled squatting" by rural blacks then moving to the area in record numbers.

Soweto, South Africa

PHOTOGRAPH BY VICTOR MATOM

In Meadowlands Park in Soweto, children pay 50 cents for several minutes of playtime on a *bambar* (trampoline).

Abidjan, Ivory Coast

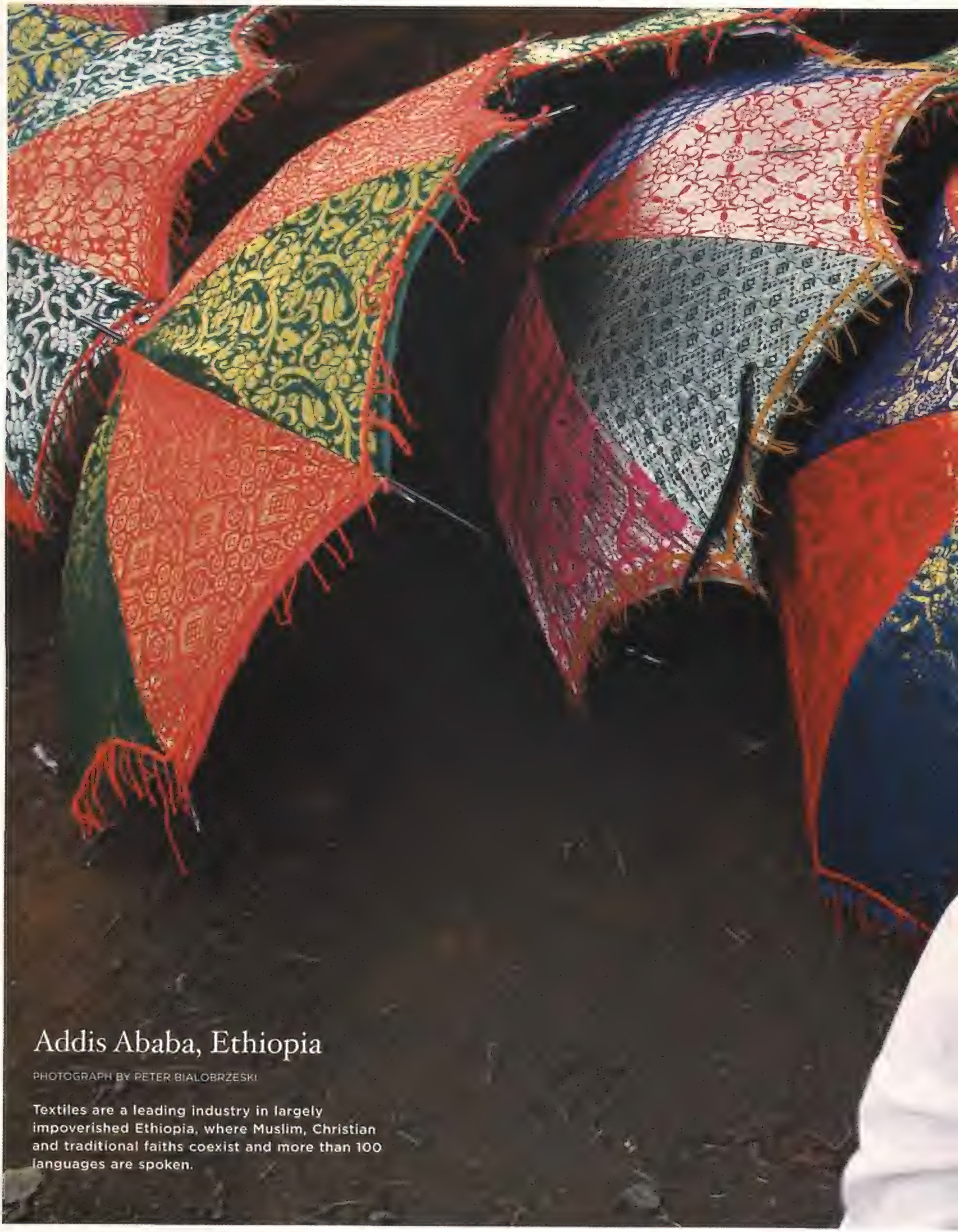
PHOTOGRAPH BY LOUGUE ISSOUFOU SANOGO

Near the port city of nearly two million people, an orphanage at recess (left) offers sanctuary in a nation torn by a violent civil war.

Chefchaouene, Morocco

PHOTOGRAPH BY JOACHIM LADEFOGED

Layers of history underlie an impromptu soccer practice in the old quarter of this ancient city, founded in 1471 and sacred to Muslims. The quarter also offered refuge to Jews driven from Spain at the end of the 15th century because they would not convert to Catholicism.



Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER BIALOBRZESKI

Textiles are a leading industry in largely impoverished Ethiopia, where Muslim, Christian and traditional faiths coexist and more than 100 languages are spoken.

DIVIDING THE SPOILS

In a new book, historian **Michael Beschloss** re-creates the 1945 Potsdam Conference at which Harry Truman found his presidential voice and determined the shape of postwar Europe

IN EARLY FEBRUARY of 1945, when the defeat of Germany was finally a foregone conclusion, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Premier Joseph Stalin met in the Crimean city of Yalta, on the Black Sea, to consider the future of Europe and set the stage for a later meeting at Germany's Potsdam, whose name would become synonymous with statecraft of the highest order.

At Yalta, the leaders of the "Big Three" confirmed they would accept nothing less than Germany's unconditional surrender; demand that Germany pay reparations to the victors; and divide the defeated nation into four zones, occupied, respectively, by the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union. FDR, whose resolute authority was crucial to forging the accords, would not live to see the war's end. On April 12, less than three weeks before Hitler committed suicide and Germany surrendered, FDR died in Warm Springs, Georgia. Vice President Harry S. Truman, who had little experience in foreign affairs, was sworn in as President.

In *The Conquerors: Roosevelt, Truman and the Destruction of Hitler's Germany 1941-1945* (just published by Simon & Schuster), historian Michael Beschloss draws on recently opened U.S. and Soviet documents to describe the diplomatic maneuvers. Beschloss, the author of six other books, believes that Roosevelt and Truman had to wrestle with a central question: "Did they presume that Germans, humiliated by their defeat, would soon turn to another Adolf Hitler—or had they fought World War II with the belief that German history could be diverted in the direction of a lasting democracy?" A similar question confronts the U.S. administration today as it contemplates an Iraq after Saddam Hussein.

The following excerpt from Beschloss' book portrays an increasingly self-confident Truman sparring with Stalin and Churchill at Potsdam, site of the 17-day conference held in July and August to refine the Yalta plans.

Berlin (looking north from the Brandenberg Gate, left, in July 1945) would be divided into roughly equal Western and Soviet sectors, setting the stage for a half-century of strife. Churchill, Truman and Stalin (above) met at Potsdam, 22 miles from Berlin.

CORBIS; P. 110 WILLIAM VANDIVERT / TIMEPIX

Adapted from *The Conquerors* by Michael Beschloss © 2002. Reprinted by permission of Simon & Schuster, Inc.

TRUMAN HAD NEVER met Churchill before Potsdam. He wrote in his diary that when the Prime Minister called on him at his villa on Monday morning, July 16, Churchill "gave me a lot of hooey about how great my country is and how he loved Roosevelt and how he intended to love me." As Truman recalled in 1954, "I liked him from the start. . . . I think he was surprised and pleased when he met me. Of course, he had been informed of what an inadequate chief of state he had to deal with. But I think he changed his mind."

Truman was told that Stalin would be late reaching Potsdam. With time on his hands, the President decided to tour Berlin. Conquerors like Genghis Khan and Julius Caesar, whom Truman had read about so voraciously as a boy, staged vast pageants in which they viewed their vanquished lands on horseback. Had Franklin Roosevelt achieved his dream of touring a conquered Berlin, he would almost certainly have arrived in Hitler's capital with theater and ceremony.

But Truman was more modest. Along with his new Secretary of State James Byrnes and Chief of Staff William Leahy, he simply climbed into the backseat of his Chrysler convertible and had his driver start up the autobahn. Along the roadside he saw "a long, neverending procession" of men, women and children, "all staring straight ahead." Ejected from their homes by the Russians, they were "carrying what they could of their belongings to nowhere in particular."

The sight of defeated Germans and their victims reminded Truman of his Confederate grandmother and her family after the Civil War: "Forced off the farm by Yankee laws," they had wandered for weeks "along the hot Missouri roads until they found a safe place to stay." He thought of the "millions of people who were like her in Europe now."

Touring Berlin's ruins, the new President smelled the stench of rotting corpses and saw the blackened Reichstag, Germany's parliament building. "It is a terrible thing," he said of the bleak scene, but "they have brought it on themselves." He imagined what a victorious Hitler might have done to Washington, D.C. He felt "thankful" that Americans had been "spared the devastation."

The car pulled up at Hitler's chancellery, near his underground bunker. Truman refused to go in, saying that he wouldn't want any of "those unfortunate people" to think he was "gloating over them." But he muttered acidly to Byrnes that he wasn't sure the Germans had "learned anything" from the Nazis' miserable end.

Berlin residents evicted by Russian troops reminded Truman of his displaced grandmother.

BETTMANN / CORBIS

Truman returned to his villa that evening deeply depressed. He wrote to his wife, Bess: "This is a hell of a place—ruined, dirty, smelly, forlorn people, bedraggled hangdog look about them. You never saw as completely ruined a city." In his diary, he wrote that the "absolute ruin" of Berlin was "Hitler's folly. He overreached himself by trying to take in too much territory. He had no morals and his people backed him up."

On Tuesday, July 17, at noon, the President was working in his study when, "I looked up from the desk and there stood Stalin in the doorway. . . . We had lunch, talked socially, put on a real show drinking toasts to everyone, then had pictures made in the backyard. I can deal with Stalin. He is honest, but smart as hell."

Over lunch, Byrnes, who had joined them, asked Stalin how he thought Hitler had died. The Marshal speculated that the Führer was still alive—"in Spain or Argentina." Stalin may have been putting forward the idea of a living Hitler in order to license harsher measures against Germany or, as the historian Alonzo Hamby notes, to deflect attention from his own aggressive ambitions.

Truman told Stalin that he was "very anxious to get the German setup in operation" so that the Allied Control Council could "govern" Germany "as a whole."

THE FIRST FORMAL conference session was at 5:00 P.M. July 17 at the Cecilienhof Palace, built in 1917. To demonstrate their equality, in a great-power minuet, Truman, Stalin and Churchill entered simultaneously through separate doors.

Seated with his allies at a burgundy-draped round table, Truman recalled the tragedy of Versailles in 1919, when the treaty's vindictive exactions left Germans impoverished and bitter, and, many believed, opened the way for Hitler's rise. This time, he said, any final German peace conference should be "prepared beforehand by the victor powers." He proposed that the groundwork be laid by a Council of Foreign Ministers, composed of the Big Three—the United States, Britain and Russia—plus France and China.

Stalin complained that the French were U.S. lackeys and that the Chinese should not be involved in "European problems." Truman and Churchill compromised by excluding the Chinese. Stalin joked that if foreign ministers were to do the work, "we will have nothing to do." Truman said, "I don't want to discuss. I want to decide." He hoped they could start early tomorrow morning. To Truman, Churchill jovially promised to "obey your orders."

Stalin said that since Churchill was in "such an obedient mood," he wished to know whether the British would

"share the German fleet with us." Churchill said that perhaps the armada should be destroyed. Weapons of war were horrible things. "Let's divide it," Stalin suggested. "If Mr. Churchill wishes, he can sink his share."

On Wednesday afternoon, July 18, Churchill noted that his partners kept using the word "Germany." He asked them, "What is now the meaning of '*Germany*'? Is it to be understood in the same sense as before the war?"

Debate on postwar Germany's borders began. At Yalta, six months before, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill had agreed that a line drawn after World War I would be Poland's eastern border with the Soviet Union. The three leaders had also decided that Poland should be compensated with "substantial" German territory to its west.

Stalin felt that Poland deserved all of Germany east of the Oder and Neisse Rivers. This would force millions of Germans westward and strip Germany of some of its richest farmland. As far as Stalin was concerned, this was a fait accompli: "Germany is what she has become after the war," he announced.

But Truman refused to consider the matter settled: "Why not say Germany as she was *before* the war, in 1937?" he asked. Stalin replied, "As she *is*—in 1945." Truman reminded Stalin that Germany had "lost everything in 1945," and that at Yalta, the Big Three had agreed to defer such questions until there was a final peace conference on Germany. Impatient, Truman wrote in his diary, "I'm not going to stay around this terrible place all summer just to listen to speeches. I'll go home to the Senate for that."

ON FRIDAY, JULY 20, Truman joined Generals Dwight Eisenhower and Omar Bradley to watch the official raising of the Stars and Stripes over the American sector of Berlin. Speaking without notes, Truman told the crowd of American soldiers, "We are not fighting for conquest. There is not one piece of territory or one thing of a monetary na-

Waiting for Stalin to arrive, Truman toured Berlin's ruins with Secretary of State Byrnes, center, and aide Leahy, right, July 16, 1945.

HARRY S. TRUMAN LIBRARY / U.S. ARMY

ture that we want out of this war."

Exactly one year had passed since German Army Col. Claus von Stauffenberg had tried and failed to kill Hitler. If any of the Americans remembered the anniversary, they did not mention it in public. At a moment when they were trying to establish collective guilt for Hitler's horrors, they did not wish to confuse the issue by reminding the world that some Germans had risked their lives, however belatedly and for whatever reasons, to stop the Führer.

The next day, Saturday, July 21, Secretary of War Henry Stimson brought the President an urgent message. The plutonium implosion bomb tested in Alamogordo, New Mexico, five days earlier had been "successful beyond the most optimistic expectations of everyone," Stimson said. Truman told his aide that the news gave him "an entirely new feeling of confidence." He knew that if the United States were sole possessor of a successful atomic bomb, it would be poised to end the Japanese war fast, without Soviet or British help, and exercise American will on the postwar world. That afternoon, Truman complained to Stalin that the Poles had been effectively assigned a zone of Germany "without consultation with us." Were the three leaders going to "give away Germany piecemeal"? Truman warned Stalin that it would be hard to agree on reparations—monetary and other payments by the defeated Germany to the Allied victors—"if Germany is divided up before the peace conference."

Stalin replied, "We are concerned about reparations, but we will take that risk." He insisted that giving German land to Poland should be no problem because no Germans were left in the region. "Of course not," Leahy whispered to Truman. "The Bolshies have killed all of them!"

Churchill noted that "two or three million Germans remain" in the area Stalin wanted to give Poland. Removing the area from Germany would remove a quarter of Germany's farmland, "from which German food and reparations must come."

"France wants the Saar and the Ruhr," said Truman. "What will be left?" Churchill warned that if Germany lacked sufficient food, "we may be confronted with conditions like those in the German concentration camps—even on a vaster scale." Stalin said, "Let the Germans buy more bread from Poland!"

Churchill demanded that the food supply of all Germany, according to its 1937 borders, be available to all Germans, "irrespective of the zones of occupation." He complained that Poland was already selling German coal to Sweden, while the British people faced "a bitter, fireless winter, worse than that experienced during the war."

Cecilienhof, the last palace built by the Hohenzollerns, housed the "Big Three" leaders.

Stalin retorted that the coal was being mined by Polish labor. As for the Germans, "we have little sympathy for these scoundrels and war criminals," he said.

Churchill noted that Stalin had earlier said that "past bitterness" should not "color our decisions." Stalin reminded him that "the less industry we leave in Germany, the more markets there will be for your goods."

Truman warned that he could not approve eastern Germany's removal from "contributing to the economy of the whole of Germany." He later wrote Bess: "Russia and Poland have gobbled up a big hunk of Germany and want Britain and us to agree. I have flatly refused."

Churchill attributed the President's new boldness to the bracing news from Alamogordo. "When he got to the meeting after having read this report, he was a changed man," the Prime Minister said to Stimson. "He told the Russians just where they got on and off and generally bossed the whole meeting."

AS THE SOLE PROPRIETOR of the atomic bomb, President Truman had just become the most powerful man on earth. And possibly the most homesick. Even before the success at Alamogordo, he had longed to get back to America and his wife. Still smoldering over Stalin's defense of his "Bolsheviki land grab," Truman wanted his counterparts to approve a plan that would punish the Germans, quash their ability to start another global war and still feed and warm all Europeans. Now, with the atomic weapon in his arsenal, Truman asked James Byrnes to put on pressure to wind the Potsdam meeting up fast. Truman knew that the new Secretary of State felt he should be President instead of Truman, but the President believed that if Byrnes could be made to defer to his authority, he would be a tough diplomatic bargainer and a powerful Congressional champion for Truman's postwar programs.

Born Catholic in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1882, Byrnes had become a Senator in 1930. An early Roosevelt supporter, he was one of the President's Senate stalwarts and helped Roosevelt push through the Lend-Lease Act and other aid to Britain. Roosevelt repaid him with a seat on the Supreme Court, where Byrnes predictably felt chained and miserable. After Pearl Harbor, FDR took him off the court to be his chief war mobilizer. Given the sobriquet "assistant President" by the press, which annoyed Roosevelt, Byrnes had harnessed American business behind the war effort.

Suspecting that Roosevelt might not serve out a fourth

JAMES WHITMORE / TIMEPIX

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term and eager to be his successor, Byrnes schemed in 1944 to become Vice President. Roosevelt admired Byrnes but was wary of his brains, wiliness and gumption. With customary duplicity, Roosevelt told Byrnes in July 1944 that he was "the most qualified man in the whole outfit," adding: "You must not get out of the race [for Vice President]. If you stay in, you are sure to win."

Told by others that Roosevelt was really for Truman or Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, Byrnes had forced a showdown with the President in a telephone call to Hyde Park. As Roosevelt spoke, Byrnes took shorthand notes to protect himself in case the President later distorted what he said. Roosevelt insisted he was not pushing for Truman or Douglas: "Jimmy, that is all wrong. . . . I told you I would have no preference. . . . Will you go on and run? After all, Jimmy, you're close to me personally. . . . I hardly know Truman."

After Truman's nomination, Byrnes was furious at Roosevelt's "hypocrisy" but still hoped that Roosevelt would appoint him to succeed Cordell Hull as Secretary of State. Nervous about Byrnes' willfulness, Roosevelt opted instead for the docile Edward Reilly Stettinius.

To salve Byrnes' wounded pride, Roosevelt took him to Yalta, but when Byrnes realized that he was being kept out of vital meetings, he complained, "I did not come along for the ride." Roosevelt caved in. When Stalin spotted Byrnes at the conference table, he thought him "the most honest-looking horse thief" he had ever met.

Returning to Washington, Byrnes dutifully held a press conference praising the Yalta agreements. Then he quit government, assuring Roosevelt that he was "not mad at anybody" about the vice presidency. After Truman became President, overimpressed by Byrnes' presence at Yalta and mindful of his prestige in the Senate, he appointed Byrnes to his secret "Interim Committee" on how a successful atomic bomb should be used. Exhilarated by the new weapon, Byrnes advised the President that it "might well put us in a position to dictate our own terms at the end of the war." When Truman began preparing for the conference, he tapped Byrnes to be his Secretary of State. He was sworn in on July 3, only two weeks before leaving for Potsdam.

Reports of the first successful atom bomb test, at Alamogordo, New Mexico, emboldened Truman.

Monday, July 23: Byrnes expressed Truman's concerns about reparations to Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov. Byrnes suggested that each power take reparations from its own zone and that the British and Americans would be inclined to give their share to victims of the Nazis. Molotov volunteered to reduce Soviet demands by 20 percent, if they could claim a portion of spoils from the industrially rich Ruhr.

On Wednesday, July 25, Stalin told Truman and Churchill that "if the Ruhr remains a part of Germany, it must supply the whole of Germany."

The Americans blanched. Charles Bohlen (the President's Russian interpreter) of the U.S. delegation privately warned that Stalin would use such leverage to "paralyze the German economy" and push the defeated nation "toward communism."

THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE recessed on July 25 while Churchill returned to London to await announcement of the results of the British election.

Truman flew to Frankfurt to visit Eisenhower at the former headquarters of I. G. Farben, one of the German war-making enterprises investigated by Senator Truman during the war. "The big towns like Frankfurt and Darmstadt were destroyed," Truman wrote his mother and sister Mary, "but the small ones are intact. It is awful to see what the bombs did to the towns, railroads and bridges. To think that millions of Russians, Poles, English and Americans were slaughtered all for the folly of one crazy egotist by the name of Hitler. I hope it won't happen again."

In London, Churchill learned that despite his triumphant role in ending the European war, British voters, focused now on domestic problems, had turned out the Conservative Party and the new Prime Minister would be Clement Attlee. Churchill's aides complained of the English people's "ingratitude," but Churchill, though despondent, replied paternally, "I wouldn't call it that. They have had a very hard time."

Saturday, July 28: Molotov reminded Byrnes that it had been agreed at Yalta that the Soviets should take "as much reparations as possible from Germany." Byrnes parried that things had changed: German devastation was greater than originally thought. He pointed out that the Soviets had already given Poland a large and valuable chunk of German land.

On Sunday, July 29, Truman wrote his wife that if he could make a "reasonably sound" deal on reparations and the Polish-German border, he could "wind up this brawl" and head home.

Sunday, July 29: Molotov conveyed to Byrnes that the Soviets

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wanted a percentage of German wealth from the other zones as well as $2 billion of industrial equipment from the Ruhr. Byrnes did not want to put a specific dollar amount on any reparations and instead offered a percentage of equipment from the Ruhr, which the Soviets would barter for with supplies from their own zone. On Monday afternoon, July 30, Byrnes relayed to Molotov that the United States would go along with giving some German territory to Poland temporarily and would grant diplomatic recognition to Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland. But having made two concessions, Byrnes would not yield to Stalin's demand for a dollar amount.

That night, Truman wrote in his diary that the talks were at an "impasse." He wrote Bess, "The whole difficulty is reparations. Of course, the Russians are naturally looters and they have been thoroughly looted by the Germans over and over again and you can hardly blame them for their attitude. The thing I have to watch is to keep our skirts clean and make no other commitments."

Tuesday July 31: Byrnes told Molotov that the American proposals on diplomatic recognition of Eastern Europe, German land for Poland, and German reparations were all one package and couldn't be granted piecemeal. Stalin argued that because the Soviet Union had suffered such heavy losses of equipment during the war, he needed more reparations.

That evening, Truman secretly scrawled out formal approval for the first atomic bomb to be dropped on Japan. Three days after learning of the successful Alamogordo test, the President had quietly told Stalin that the United States now had an unusually destructive new weapon. Truman did not know that Soviet intelligence had already briefed Stalin on the Manhattan Project and the test. Stalin simply replied to Truman that he hoped the Americans would use the weapon well against Japan. Now Truman specified that the thunderous event should unfold only after he and his party were safely gone from Potsdam: "Release when ready but not sooner than August 2."

Truman (back to camera) was determined not to be vindictive, saying, "I know what it means to lose."

ON WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, August 1, while discussing German assets abroad, Stalin made a fateful suggestion. To Truman and Britain's new Labour Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, who had taken Churchill's place at Potsdam, Stalin proposed that the Soviet Union "regard the whole of western Germany as falling within your sphere and eastern Germany as within ours."

Truman asked whether Stalin meant to establish a "line" down Europe, "running from the Baltic to the Adriatic."

Stalin said yes. "As to the German investments in Europe, they remain with us, and the rest with you." Truman asked, "Does this apply only to German investments in Europe or in other countries as well?"

"Let me put it more specifically," said Stalin. "The German investments in Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland go to us, and all the rest to you. . . . In all other countries—South America, Canada and the like—all this is yours." Stalin went on, "We are not fighting Great Britain or the United States."

They moved on to war crimes. No doubt suspicious that the United States would try to curry favor with the Germans—especially big German capitalists—Stalin complained that the Americans were unwilling to publish long lists of German war criminals: "Aren't we going to act against *any* German industrialists? I think we should." As one example, Stalin mentioned the Krupp dynasty, long known for making German arms: "If they will not do, let's name others."

Truman said, "I don't like any of them!" His colleagues laughed. The President argued that if they mentioned some names but omitted others, "people may think that we have no intention of putting those others on trial."

As at Yalta, Stalin tweaked the British by mentioning Hitler's old underling Rudolf Hess, still imprisoned in the Tower of London: "It is surprising that Hess is in Britain, all provided for, and is not being put on trial."

Ernest Bevin, the new British Foreign Secretary, replied, "If there is any doubt about Hess, I will give an understanding that Hess will be handed over—and we will also be sending a bill for his keep!"

Stalin said he would be satisfied by listing "just three names" of German war criminals. Briefed on Stalin's view that Hitler might still be alive, Attlee suggested that they start with Hitler. Stalin said they did not have Hitler "at our disposition," but he would be willing to name him. The Big Three finally agreed to publish a list of top German war criminals within a month.

THAT EVENING AT 10:40, Truman, Stalin and Attlee signed the Potsdam Declaration. "The German people," it said, "have begun to atone for the terrible crimes committed under the leadership of those whom, in the hour of their success, they openly approved and blindly obeyed."

The victors did not wish to "destroy or enslave" the

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26	10.50	9.41	15.75	13.56	26.25	21.88
27	10.50	9.41	15.75	13.56	26.25	21.88
28	10.50	9.41	15.75	13.56	26.25	21.88
29	10.50	9.41	15.75	13.56	26.25	21.88
30	10.50	9.41	15.75	13.56	26.25	21.88
31	10.50	9.41	15.75	13.56	26.25	21.88
32	10.50	9.41	15.75	13.56	26.25	21.88
33	10.50	9.41	15.75	13.56	26.25	21.88
34	10.50	9.41	15.75	13.56	26.25	21.88
35	10.50	9.41	15.75	13.56	26.25	21.88
36	10.72	9.84	16.19	14.44	27.13	22.75
37	10.94	10.28	16.63	15.31	28.00	24.50
38	11.59	10.72	17.94	16.19	30.63	25.38
39	12.25	11.16	19.25	17.06	32.38	27.13
40	12.69	11.38	20.13	17.50	35.00	28.88
41	13.78	12.47	22.31	19.69	38.50	30.63
42	15.09	13.56	24.94	21.88	42.88	35.88
43	16.41	14.66	27.56	24.06	48.13	39.38
44	17.50	15.31	29.75	25.38	52.50	42.88
45	19.25	16.41	33.25	27.56	59.50	48.13
46	20.56	17.28	35.88	29.31	64.75	50.75
47	22.53	18.38	39.81	31.50	71.75	55.13
48	24.28	19.47	43.31	33.69	77.88	59.50
49	26.69	20.56	48.13	35.88	85.75	64.75
50	28.44	21.88	51.63	38.50	94.50	70.00
51	30.63	23.19	56.00	41.13	103.25	75.25
52	33.25	25.38	61.25	45.50	116.38	83.13

MONTHLY RATES

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54	40.03	29.31	74.81	53.38	140.88	98.00
55	44.19	31.72	83.13	58.19	156.63	107.63
56	48.13	33.91	91.00	62.56	171.50	114.63
57	53.59	36.97	101.94	68.69	192.50	125.13
58	59.06	40.03	112.88	74.81	213.50	135.63
59	64.53	43.09	123.81	80.94	234.50	146.13
60	71.09	47.03	136.94	88.81	259.88	158.38
61	78.09	50.75	150.94	96.25	287.00	174.13
62	86.84	55.78	168.44	106.31	322.88	194.25
63	95.81	60.59	186.38	115.94	357.88	215.25
64	105.00	66.50	204.75	127.75	393.75	235.38
65	116.16	71.53	227.06	137.81	437.50	261.63
66	128.41	77.22	251.56	149.19	469.88	280.88
67	144.59	84.44	283.94	163.63	514.50	307.13
68	161.00	92.09	316.75	178.94	559.13	333.38
69	177.41	99.75	349.56	194.25	602.88	359.63
70	197.97	109.16	390.69	213.06	658.88	392.88
71	225.75	131.03	446.25	256.81	869.75	490.00
72	262.50	160.56	519.75	315.88	1017.63	604.63
73	299.69	190.09	594.13	374.94	1166.38	718.38
74	336.88	219.63	668.50	434.00	1315.13	832.13
75	383.25	256.38	761.25	507.50	1501.50	974.75
76	436.84	296.84	868.44	588.44	1713.25	1131.38
77	513.41	350.88	1021.56	696.50	2016.88	1340.50
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Germans, but to help them "prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a peaceful and democratic basis." Allied policies toward the Germans would be uniform, "so far as is practicable."

During occupation, "Germany shall be treated as a single economic unit." Each occupying power would take reparations from its own zones. Beyond that, the Soviets would take 15 percent of industrial equipment that was "unnecessary for the German peace economy," in exchange for food, coal and other goods. They would also receive an additional 10 percent for free. The Council of Foreign Ministers would draft a peace treaty "to be accepted by the government of Germany when a government adequate for that purpose is established."

After the document was signed by all three leaders, Truman pronounced the conference "adjourned until our next meeting, which I hope will be in Washington." Stalin smiled and said, "God willing!"

Truman wrote his mother, "You never saw such pig-headed people as are the Russians. I hope I never have to hold another conference with them. But of course I will."

He was wrong. Because of the deepening Cold War, Truman never saw Stalin again.

MONDAY, August 6, Truman was recrossing the Atlantic aboard the *Augusta* when he was handed a message over luncheon. An atomic bomb had been dropped on Hiroshima and was "successful in all respects." The war against Japan would soon be won. The President said, "This is the greatest thing in history." After a second report, declaring "complete success," Truman leapt to his feet and told Byrnes, "It's time for us to get home!"

Potsdam convinced Truman (disembarking at Newport News, VA) he could handle the presidency.

THREE DAYS LATER, on Thursday, August 9, the United States closed its victory over Japan with a second atomic bomb, dropped, under existing orders, on Nagasaki. Emperor Hirohito secretly decided to "bear the unbearable" and meet the Allies' demand for unconditional surrender.

But Truman did not know that yet. That evening, he addressed Americans by radio on his European trip: "I have just returned from Berlin, the city from which the Germans intended to rule the world." He reported that Hitler's capital was now a "ghost city. . . . How glad I am to be home again—and how grateful to Almighty God that this land of ours has been spared!"

He reported that the declaration signed at Potsdam was "intended to eliminate Naziism, armaments, war industries, the German General Staff and all its military tradition." It hoped to "rebuild democracy by control of German education, by reorganizing local government and the judiciary, by encouraging free speech, free press, freedom of religion and the right of labor to organize." German industry would be "decentralized in order to do away with concentration of economic power in cartels and monopolies." Germans would be granted no higher standard of living than their former victims.

Truman said that the wartime allies were resolved to "do what we can to make Germany over into a decent nation" and "eventually work its way" back into the "civilized world."

Truman's speech largely obscured the unresolved questions and harsh compromises that were the legacy of Potsdam. The Soviets would get reparations, but the victors had still to agree on specifics or exact terms. Germany would be treated as an "economic whole," but in each zone, the commander would have paramount authority. The defeated nation would not be partitioned; the shift of land to Poland was merely "provisional."

As the American diplomat and scholar W. R. Smyser wrote in 1999, at Potsdam "each side paid what it had to pay to get what it wanted most." Stalin got almost one quarter of pre-World War II German territory for Poland. Britain and America, by demanding that each victor seize reparations from its own zone, spared postwar Germany the staggering reparations and debt that in the 1920s had brought inflation, unemployment and Hitler. They had also prepared a means to protect western Germany from Soviet encroachment.

Assistant Secretary of War John McCloy knew that if Soviet–American relations deteriorated, the slash between the Soviet and Western zones would become much more than an abstraction. He wrote in his diary, "We are drifting toward a line down the middle of Germany."

In the wake of Potsdam, Germany and Europe were divided for almost half a century as the Soviet Union and the West were engaged in a bitter cold war. In October 1990, after the tearing down of the Berlin Wall, East and West Germany were reunited. Chancellor Kohl promised the world's leaders that "in the future, only peace will emanate from German soil." Today, no longer trapped behind the ugly wall, the Cecilienhof Palace is a museum. Its chief attraction is the round oak table at which Truman, Stalin and Churchill once sat to decide the fate of the world. ○

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NOTABLE BOOKS *for* CHILDREN

2002

BY KATHLEEN BURKE

ALREADY ACCLAIMED for her sensitive depiction of adolescence in *Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret* (1970), Judy Blume turned her attention 30 years ago, in 1972, to a younger audience in *Tales of a Fourth Grade Nothing*. Her comic account surveys the life and times of Peter Hatcher, a long-suffering 9-year-old saddled with a pesky 2-year-old brother, Farley Drexel Hatcher, a.k.a. Fudge. The chronicle of Peter's plight has struck a chord with beleaguered siblings ever since.

Blume went on to relay the brothers' further misadventures in *Superfudge* (1980) and *Fudge-a-Mania* (1990). She devoted a related title, *Otherwise Known as Sheila the Great* (1972), to Peter's runner-up nemesis, Sheila Tubman, the know-it-all neighbor who is, alas, a tenant in his New York City apartment building.

The Fudge books, as the four titles are collectively known, evolved into a wildly successful series, selling 19 million copies in more than 20 languages. For 12 years, faithful readers have clamored for an update on the Hatcher clan. At last, Blume has obliged with *Double Fudge*, published in October by Dutton. Peter is now 12 and Fudge, a precocious "nearly six."

Why the hiatus? "The thing about funny books is, they have to spill out spontaneously, or they don't work," says Blume. "At least that's how it is with me." The idea for *Double Fudge*, she adds, came to her when she least expected it.

The author resumes the Fudge chronicles at a juncture when Peter realizes to his dismay that Fudge, even as he prepares to go to kindergarten, remains obdurately annoying. After pitching a world-class tantrum (worth the price of admission) inside a shoe store, Fudge focuses his daunting energies on his current obsession, amassing a fortune. Efforts to deflect him from this impulse—he announces an intention to buy up "Toys 'R' Us and Manhattan" and stops strangers to assess their potential as wage earners—meet with signal failure.

Adding to Peter's woes, gate-crashing relatives from hell interrupt a cross-country odyssey to camp out in the Hatchers' cramped apartment. Within hours of their arrival, Peter finds the family zipped into sleeping bags, snoring away on the living room floor: "They slept flat on their backs, like a row of hot dogs in their rolls. All that was missing was the mustard and the relish." Bad enough, but their supine incursion hopelessly cuts off access to the television.

It takes a minor crisis to convince everyone, especially Fudge, that, as Peter's understandably weary mother has maintained all along, "the best things in life are free." Blume, as always, has turned the ordinary preoccupations of childhood—sibling rivalry or finding oneself on the wrong side of a parental edict—into high comedy.

Finally, for readers perusing our roundup of titles, including picture books, memoirs and novels, the usual caveat applies: the age categories below are necessarily arbitrary; adjust to the predilections of the individual child.

FOR THE YOUNGEST READERS
[Ages 1-6]

JETHRO BYRD: FAIRY CHILD *written and illustrated by Bob Graham (Candlewick, $15.99)* When a troupe of winged sprites, cruising in their flying ice-cream truck, lands on young Annabelle's doorstep, she finds herself face-to-face with magic incarnate. Rooted in benevolent fantasy and domestic affection, Graham's titles are essential additions to the family bookshelf.

KNICK-KNACK PADDYWACK *illustrated by Paul O. Zelinsky (Dutton, $18.99)* "This old man / He played one": Applying paper-engineering wizardry to the traditional counting rhyme, the Caldecott Medal winner creates a ravishing variation on the pull-the-tab title.

Bernard Waber's COURAGE *explores the premise that bravery, in its manifestations great and small, is defined by "what we give to each other."*

CHIMP AND ZEE AND THE BIG STORM *written and illustrated by Catherine and Laurence Anholt (Penguin Putnam, $16.99)* Curious George, move over. The accident-prone primate twins who made their debut last year return, "squibbling and squabbling" their way into a windblown escapade.

COURAGE *written and illustrated by Bernard Waber (Houghton Mifflin, $12)* Whether it's "going to bed without a nightlight," "riding your bicycle for the first time without training wheels" or holding on to your dreams, the right stuff, the author assures us, is something we find inside ourselves every day.

THE BIRDWATCHERS *written and illustrated by Simon James (Candlewick, $15.99)* Into the forest, young Jess and her grandfather set off companionably, soon to discover that the biggest surprises, ornithologically speaking, may lie right under their noses.

"SLOWLY, SLOWLY, SLOWLY," SAID THE SLOTH *written and illustrated by Eric Carle, foreword by Jane Goodall (Penguin Putnam, $16.99)* The picture-book master has created a droll defense of the lost art of loafing and a dazzling inventory of rain forest creatures.

SHARK IN THE PARK! *written and illustrated by Nick Sharratt (Random House, $14.95)* Dorsal fins on every front: when a telescope-wielding boy runs amok, his optical delusions have him crying wolf.

JAZZY IN THE JUNGLE *written and illustrated by Lucy Cousins (Candlewick, $14.99)* Peer behind trees, push aside fronds: the denizens of a fanciful forest search for a lemur baby in Cousins' lush and whimsical corner of the tropics.

MR. PUTTER AND TABBY CATCH THE COLD *by Cynthia Rylant, illustrated by Arthur Howard (Harcourt, $14)* Easy-to-read books for beginning readers often amount to dreary drivel: not in this case. In a paean to chicken soup, hot tea and one feline-tolerant dog, friendship turns out to be the best medicine of all.

MIKE MULLIGAN AND MORE: A VIRGINIA LEE BURTON TREASURY *written and illustrated by Virginia Lee Burton (Houghton Mifflin, $20)* The Caldecott Medalist's stories—of an invincible steam shovel; a cottage relocated from city to country; a tractor determined to plow a New England town out of a snowstorm—possess a heroic energy that has captivated young readers for more than 60 years.

WHERE'S THE BIG BAD WOLF? *written and illustrated by Eileen Christelow (Houghton Mifflin, $15)* A new take on a sharp-fanged scoundrel finds a small-town detective, Phineas Doggedly, hot on the trail of that "pig-poaching" rascal kids love to hate.

CLOSE YOUR EYES *by Kate Banks, illustrated by Georg Hallensleben (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, $16)* Into the realm of darkness, where a tiger cub resists slumber until dreams overtake him.

BEDTIME STORIES: BEDTIME TALES WITH A TWIST *written and illustrated by Debi Gliori (DK, $15.99)* From *The Little Red Hen* and *The Tortoise and the Hare* to *The Three Little Pigs*, nine familiar favorites, recast with verve by a writer who invests each tale with loopy originality.

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FOR MIDDLE READERS
[Ages 6-10]

THE CASTAWAY *written and illustrated by James Stevenson (HarperCollins/Greenwillow, $15.95)* The *New Yorker* cartoonist turns his prodigious talent for comedy to the tale of Hubie, a mousekin hounded by a phobic-level fear, strangely enough, of islands. When he is stranded on a deserted outcropping, he has got to go in for behavior mod in a big way.

ME AND UNCLE ROMIE *by Claire Hartfield, paintings by Jerome Lagarrigue (Penguin Putnam, $16.99)* The spirit of Harlem—"the people, the music, the rooftops and the stoops"—infuses this tribute, in fiction, to the collage artist Romare Bearden (1911-1988).

FIELD TRIPS *written and illustrated by Jim Arnosky (HarperCollins, $15.95)* Grab the binoculars: in the company of the renowned naturalist and artist, the secrets of field and forest, wetland and seashore are revealed to anyone who learns to look.

THE THREE LITTLE WITCHES STORYBOOK *by Georgie Adams, illustrated by Emily Bolam (Hyperion, $15.99)* In Cauldron Cottage, cups and saucers wash themselves while bats gambol overhead. Three apprentice practitioners of magic find adventure wherever their broomsticks may carry them. Fetching fantasy for the pre-Harry Potter set.

NIGHT OF THE MOONJELLIES *written and illustrated by Mark Shasha (Purple House, $17.95)* Off the New England coast on midsummer nights, colonies of bioluminescent organisms, commonly known as moonjellies, shine starlike in the sea. The author drew on his childhood—the seasons he helped out at his family's lobster-roll stand in Connecti-

Georgie Adams' THREE LITTLE WITCHES STORYBOOK *offers a stylish take on sorcery 101.*

Howard Schwartz recasts nine powerful tales of the supernatural in INVISIBLE KINGDOMS.

cut—to re-create an interlude spent in the company of his grandmother.

TRAVELS WITH TARRA *by Carol Buckley (Tilbury House, $16.96)* When she was a college student, the author began helping to look after a baby elephant, captured from the wild and transported to the United States. The two developed an extraordinary bond, documented in this touching account of Buckley's 28-year connection to Tarra. In 1995, Buckley cofounded the Elephant Sanctuary, the nation's first natural-habitat refuge, in Tennessee.

GEORGIE LEE *by Sharon Phillips Denslow, illustrated by Lynne Rae Perkins (HarperCollins, $15.95)* "I wish," writes the author, "every kid could have a farm to remember." Luckily for us, Denslow has re-created her childhood summers in the Ohio countryside, where her 9-year-old alter ego, J.D., pals around with an exceptionally perspicacious cow, Georgie Lee.

DREAM CARVER *by Diana Cohn, illustrated by Amy Córdova (Chronicle, $15.95)* In Mexico's Oaxacan valley, one artisan envisions "cats purple as eggplants, jackrabbits cloaked in orange capes." He carves these creatures out of wood in an accolade to a region that is the center of a vibrant folk art tradition.

IF THE WORLD WERE A VILLAGE *by*

David J. Smith, illustrated by Shelagh Armstrong (Kids Can Press, $15.95) If we imagine the planet as a settlement of 100 inhabitants, "22 speak a Chinese dialect, 20 earn less than a dollar a day, 17 cannot read or write, 60 are always hungry, 24 have a television in their home." The global village, envisioned on a comprehensible scale, yields surprising insights into our shared humanity.

THE BAREFOOT BOOK OF ANIMAL TALES, *retold by Naomi Adler, illustrated by Amanda Hall (Barefoot, $19.99)* How spiders saved the world from eternal night and monkey outwitted the crocodile: nine stories suffused with magic.

THE NEW ADVENTURES OF THE MAD SCIENTISTS' CLUB *by Bertrand R. Brinley (Purple House, $17.95)* "Just another quiet day in Mammoth Falls." Perhaps not: this reissue of a title originally published in the 1960s reintroduces a brotherhood of boy geniuses with a penchant for electronic crime detection and advanced rocketry.

38 WAYS TO ENTERTAIN YOUR GRANDPARENTS *by Dette Hunter, illustrated by Deirdre Betteridge (Annick, $9.95)* More than a clever survival guide for grown-ups, this assortment of simple and fun activities, from card games and cooking projects to bedtime rituals, offers up the stuff of childhood memories.

THE SIGNERS: THE 56 STORIES BEHIND THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE *by Dennis Brindell Fradin, illustrated by Michael McCurdy (Walker, $22.95)*, and **THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION FOR KIDS: A HISTORY WITH 21 ACTIVITIES** *by Janis Herbert (Chicago Review Press, $14.95)* The dramatic events that lay behind the Founding Fathers' struggle for liberty are vividly recounted in Fradin's biographical sketches and Herbert's lively survey.

INVISIBLE KINGDOMS: JEWISH TALES OF ANGELS, SPIRITS AND DEMONS, *retold by Howard Schwartz, illustrated by Stephen Fieser (HarperCollins, $16.99)* Spanning 1,500 years and regions from Eastern Europe to the Middle East, legends rooted in the mystic tradition of Judaism evoke angels, spirits and demons.

GHOSTS FOR BREAKFAST *by Stanley Todd Terasaki, illustrated by Shelly Shinjo (Lee & Low, $16.95)* A Japanese-Ameri-

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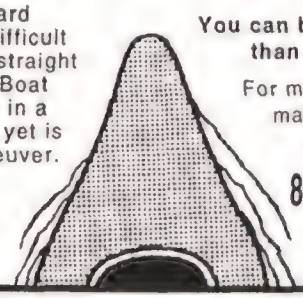

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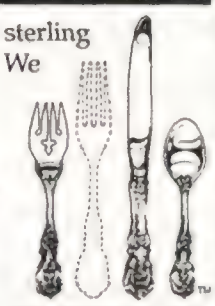

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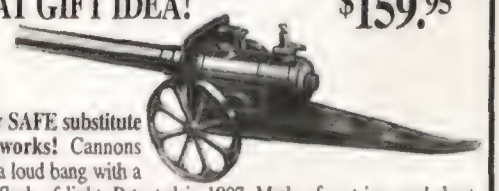

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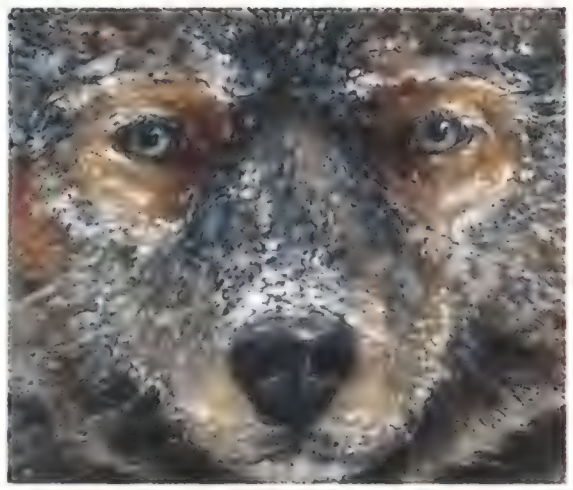

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can agricultural community in the 1920s is the setting for an excursion into tongue-in-cheek high jinks. When rumors swirl that a field is haunted by "dozens of ghosts, dancing in the moonlight," a commonsensical farmer and his son set out to investigate.

TOGO *written and illustrated by Robert J. Blake (Penguin Putnam, $16.99)* In 1925, dogsled teams braved a blizzard to carry diphtheria serum to a besieged Nome, Alaska. One remarkable husky, Togo, covered 350 of the 400 miles from Anchorage: this page-turning account dramatizes the exploits of a legendarily courageous canine.

RAINFOREST EXPLORER *by Sue Nicholson (Tangerine/Scholastic, $6.95)* Written in the form of a journal kept by kids during an imaginary expedition to the Amazon, this diary reveals the allure of field science conducted in an imperiled wilderness.

THE SKY'S THE LIMIT: STORIES OF DISCOVERY BY WOMEN AND GIRLS *by Catherine Thimmesh, illustrated by Melissa Sweet (Houghton Mifflin, $16)* From pulsars to a new solar-heat method for pasteurizing water (recently developed by a 14-year-old), breakthrough insights recorded by female investigators have illumined our world.

FIRST DAY IN GRAPES *by L. King Pérez, illustrated by Robert Casilla (Lee & Low, $16.95)* Following the seasons of the harvest in California with his migrant-worker family, third grader Chico moves from school to school. When he enters a new classroom, a perceptive teacher recognizes his gift for mathematics and shows him the way to his future.

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MOONBEAMS, DUMPLINGS & DRAGON BOATS *by Nina Simonds, Leslie Swartz and the Children's Museum, Boston, illustrated by Meilo So (Harcourt, $20)* An inspired compilation of Chinese holiday tales, activities and recipes limns a rich and ancient culture through a year's worth of projects.

JOURNEY TO THE RIVER SEA *by Eva Ibbotson (Dutton, $17.99)* Perhaps the acquisition of a governess who wears a miniature replica of a Viking spear as a hat pin could spell trouble. Not here: young Maia's caretaker turns out to be a lifesaver; it's the scheming relatives who present problems. Escaping their clutches, the nanny and her charge flee into the 19th-century Amazonian rain forest, entering into a grand-scale adventure that has the makings of a classic.

HANDS-ON SCIENCE *by John Graham, Peter Mellett, Jack Challoner and Sarah Angliss (Kingfisher, $10.95)* Instructions for 150 experiments, based on everyday household objects, make for an inviting guide to first principles in physics, chemistry and biology.

CAN YOU GUESS MY NAME? TRADITIONAL TALES FROM AROUND THE WORLD, *retold by Judy Sierra, illustrated by Stefano Vitale (Houghton Mifflin, $20)* Fifteen stories offer a window on many cultures and an introduction to comparative literature.

FUNNY BONES: COMEDY GAMES AND ACTIVITIES FOR KIDS *by Lisa Bany-Winters (Chicago Review, $14.95)* The art of improvisation takes center stage in a clever compendium of exercises and scripts.

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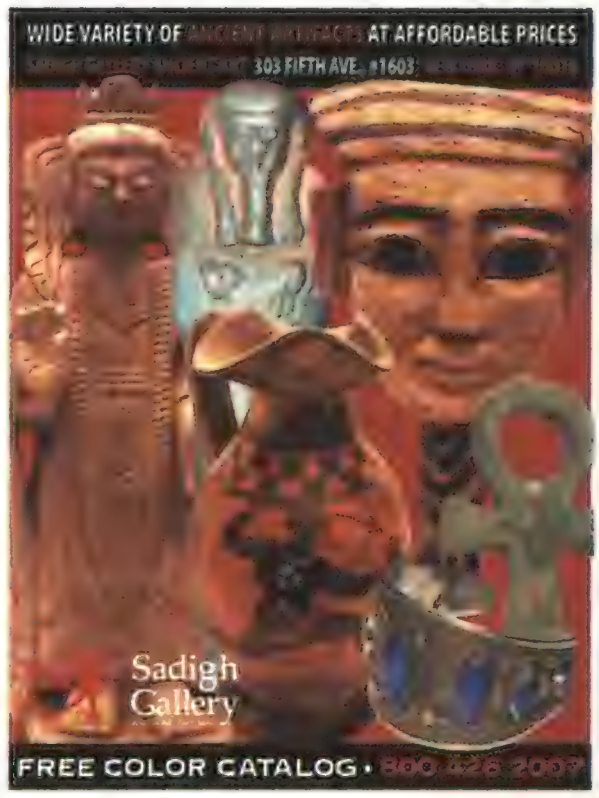

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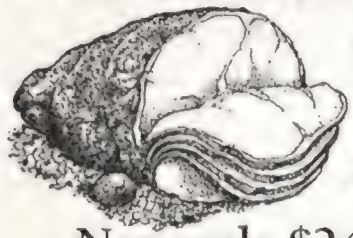

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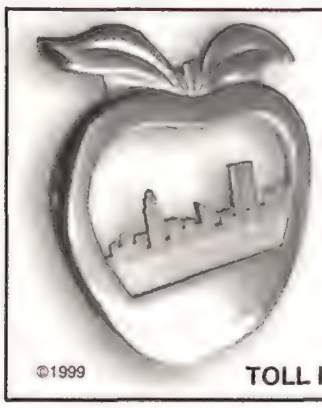
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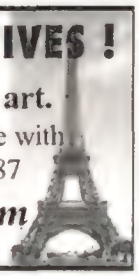
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A BAG OF LUCKY RICE *by George Reichart, illustrated by Mark Mitchell (David R. Godine, $17.95)* Set in a Nevada mining enclave during the height of the gold rush, this splendid first novel follows the fortunes of an impoverished prospector. He is down to his last farthing when he is befriended by the town's two outcasts, a Chinese cook and his resourceful son, both of whom long to be accepted as "real Americans."

HANDBOOK FOR BOYS: A NOVEL *by Walter Dean Myers (HarperCollins, $15.95)* When the proprietor of a Harlem barbershop takes over as the court-appointed mentor for two troubled teenagers, he conveys the message that the future is built not only on hard work but on sustaining dreams as well.

GENERATION FIX: YOUNG IDEAS FOR A BETTER WORLD *by Elizabeth Rusch (Beyond Words, $9.95)* A primer for young activists offers up solutions kids have created on their own, from organizing after-school programs for inner-city schools to planting vegetable gardens to help feed the homeless.

AT THE CROSSING-PLACES *by Kevin Crossley-Holland (Scholastic, $17.95)* The author continues the saga of Arthur de Caldicot, a young squire about to embark on the Crusades in the year 1200. Interweaving Arthurian legend and nuanced medieval history, he conjures up a vivid tapestry of medieval England and the wars pitting Christian against Muslim in a clash of faiths from the 13th century to our own.

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SURVIVING THE APPLEWHITES *by Stephanie S. Tolan (HarperCollins, $15.99)* When 13-year-old Jake Semple, a problem kid headed for juvenile detention or worse, arrives at his foster family, he assumes that he can intimidate his hosts. But he meets his match with an eccentric clan who home-school their children and live in a farmhouse filled with books.

HOLE IN MY LIFE *by Jack Gantos (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, $16)* The ultimate cautionary tale (replete with graphic prison violence): the then-20-year-old Gantos helped crew a yacht loaded with hashish from the Caribbean to New York City. He was caught and sentenced to up to six years. He managed to survive his ordeal only by taking up a pen and finding his voice: Gantos has gone on to write more than 30 acclaimed books for young people.

STAND TALL *by Joan Bauer (Putnam, $16.99)* At just under 6 feet 4 inches, 12-year-old Sam, a.k.a. Tree, is at odds with the world after his parents' divorce. Bauer treads lightly, investing a shopworn theme—surviving a family's breakup—with humor and a notable absence of treacle.

ZULU DOG *by Anton Ferreira (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, $16)* When an 11-year-old Zulu boy rescues and raises a wild bush dog, he sets in motion a series of events that will change forever his life and his family's. This first novel envisions a future for South Africa where justice and tolerance converge.

ILLUSTRATED ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ANCIENT GREECE *by Sean Sheehan (J. Paul Getty Museum, $19.95)* From Achilles to Zeus: more than 200 entries, encompassing history, mythology, archaeology and more.

PURE DEAD WICKED *by Debi Gliori (Knopf, $15.95)* Harry Potter meets the Addams Family. In a tumbledown castle in Scotland lurks a family of wizards whose peculiarity is exceeded only by its ineptitude.

FRESH GIRL *by Jaïra Placide (Random House, $15.95)* Set within the bounds of Brooklyn's Haitian-immigrant community, this vivid first novel introduces the memorable 14-year-old Mardi, who has fled her country's violence only to

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discover she must grapple with the past. (Mature material)

THE WINTER PEOPLE *by Joseph Bruchac (Dial, $16.99)* The author relies on events in the French and Indian Wars in his portrayal of a boy who sets off to rescue his mother and sister, captured by British raiders who attack an Indian village in Quebec in 1759.

RUBY HOLLER *by Sharon Creech (HarperCollins, $16.99)* A remote and mysterious corner of the Southern backwoods offers an unlikely sanctuary to a brother and sister known as the "trouble twins," shuttled between foster homes and orphanages all their young lives. When an older couple takes them in, the kids find themselves in a redemptive world where good breakfasts and wilderness adventure add up to a place called home.

SUMMERLAND *by Michael Chabon (Hyperion, $22.95)* The Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist has produced a soaring fantasy rooted in American soil. From his home in mythical Clam Island, Washington—a province as magical and fully realized as Narnia or Middle Earth—11-year-old Ethan Feld sets out in search of his vanished father. On this quest, he hurtles into an alternative universe where he must defeat giants, bat-winged goblins and a diabolically talented baseball team before he and his compatriots can cross into safety. ✪

Kathleen Burke, a senior editor at SMITHSONIAN, *also reviews books for kidsbestbooks.com.*

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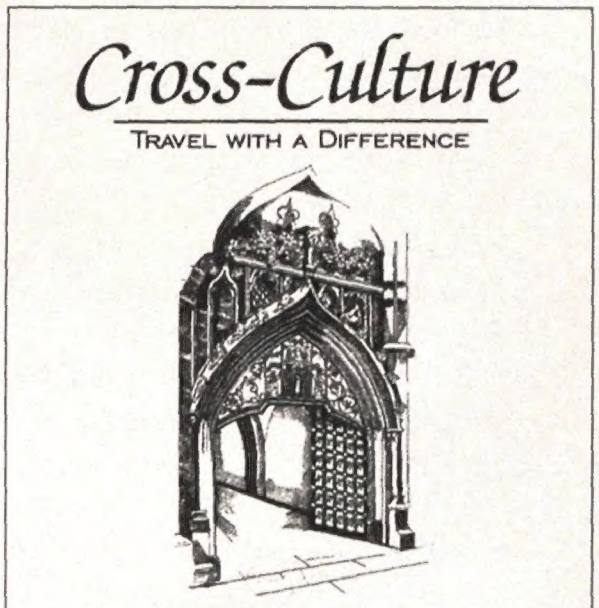
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THE LAST PAGE

Label Babel

BY RICHARD LIEBMANN-SMITH

EVER SINCE GEORGE W. BUSH SET eyebrows rising when he mistakenly called the East Timorese by the name East Timorians, I've been lying awake nights trying to figure out the rules for the way we label people from various places.

Let's start with something ese-y, like the Chinese, the Japanese and those beleaguered East Timorese. At first blush it seems there's a simple rule in operation here: people from countries in Asia take the suffix "ese." Hence, in addition to the aforementioned, we have the Taiwanese, the Vietnamese and, naturally, the *West* Timorese. It all looks perfectly neat. Yet if the Asia rule held, wouldn't we also have the Cambodese, the Tibetese and the Indonesiaese? Conversely, how can we account for the non-Asian Congolese, Senegalese and Lebanese? And if you believe the answer lies in Eurocentrism, how do you explain the Portuguese?

Perhaps these designations derive not so much from geography as from spelling. Maybe the "or" at the end of Timor should have tipped Mr. Bush off to the appropriate "ese" suffix. Sounds plausible, but then why aren't people from Ecuador called Ecuadorese or those hardy souls up in Maine known as the Bangorese? (Speaking of Maine, if people from Spain are Spaniards, shouldn't Down Easters be Maniards?)

Once you start obsessing along these lines, you quickly realize there's precious little rhyme and not much reason to these quirky designations. Consider, for example, the ticklish "ish" situation: countries whose names end in "land" tend to produce "ish" people. England and Ireland are nicely behaved examples. But it turns out that a "land" country by no means guarantees an "ish" people. Iceland is home to the Icelanders, not the Icish. Likewise, the upstanding citizens of Newfoundland are not Newfoundish, but Newfoundlanders. And to totally muddy the linguistic waters, while the people of England are indeed English, New England is the land of New Englanders, not of the New English. Worse, if Thais come from Thailand and Finns come from Finland, why aren't people from Holland called Holls? (They're Dutch, of course. Go figure.)

If people from Spain are Spaniards, shouldn't Down Easters be Maniards?

Deeper mysteries abound: people from Canada and Florida somehow pick up an internal "i," becoming Canadians and Floridians, yet those from other "a" places do not, or else we would have Americians, Alaskians and Arubians. So, you say, an "a" ending is not sufficient. After all, both Canada and Florida end in "da." Well, tell that to the Ugandans.

And how did people from Peru come to be called Peruvians? Who slipped in that silly "v"? It certainly wasn't dictated by the "u," or we would also have Honoluluvians and Timbuctuvians. Likewise, if the "o" at the end of Kosovo makes for Kosovars, where are the Congovars, the Ohiovars, the Pago Pagovars and the Tierra del Fuegovars? Come to think of it, are those folks more properly the Tierra del Fuegans or the Tierrans del Fuego?

If the denizens of Rome, Italy, are Romans, what are people from Nome, Alaska? Nomans? And if residents of Los Angeles are known as Angelenos, why aren't those who live in Las Vegas called Veganos? Norway gives us Norwegians and Galway supplies Galwegians; but are those suburbanites out on Long Island Far Rockawegians? Is Hunan Province in China populated by Hunaners, Hunanese or Hunanians? Or Hunan beings?

No doubt you now understand why these linguistic mysteries have disturbed my sleep for the past couple of years. Just last night, as I was about to drift off to the Land of Nod, I began to wonder: Who lives there? The Nodians? The Noddish? The Nodlanders? The Nodese? The Nodovars? The Noss?

As I'm sure George W. would agree, this is not an endeavor for the timorous. Not to mention the timorish. ○

JULIETTE BORDA

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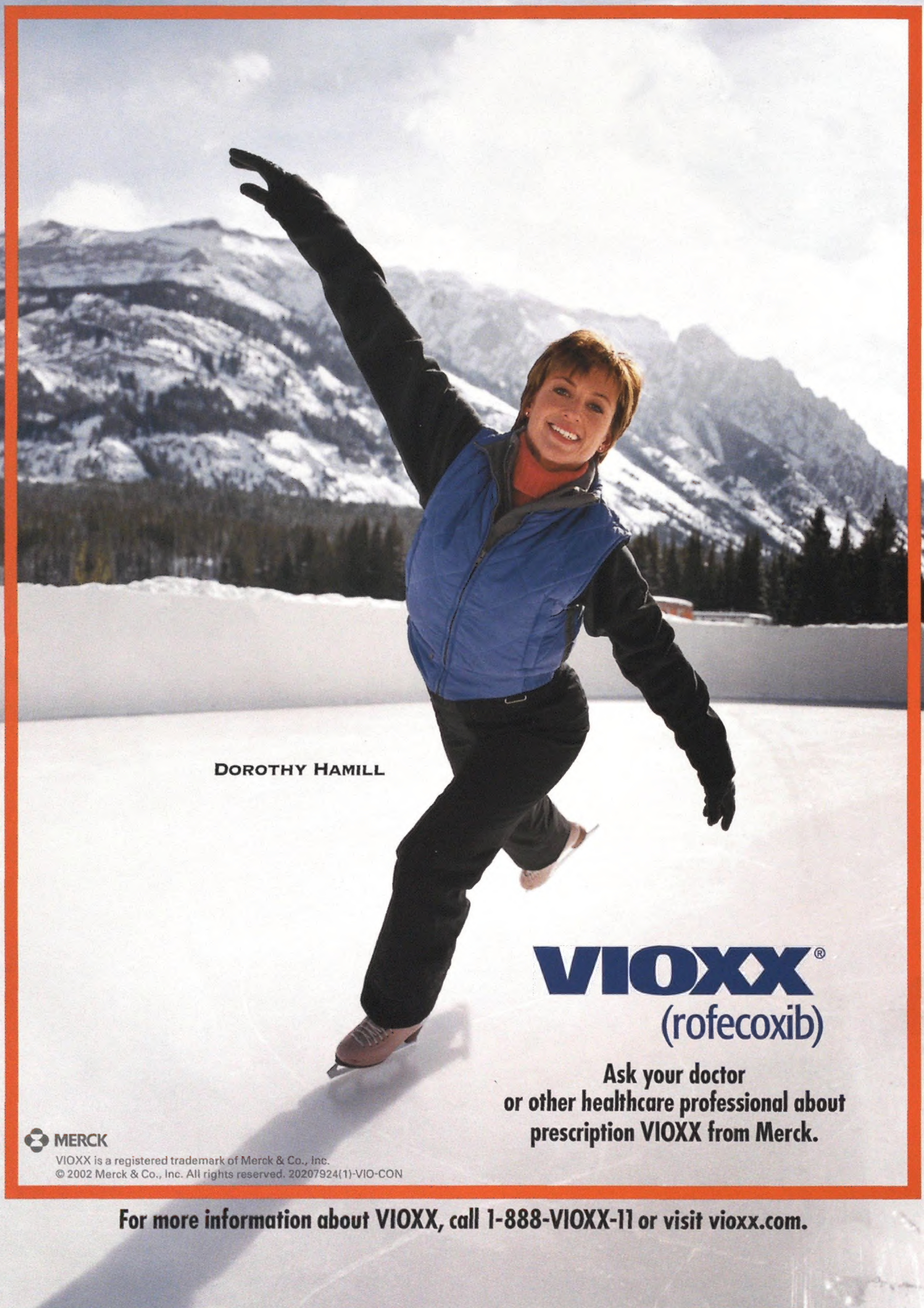

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